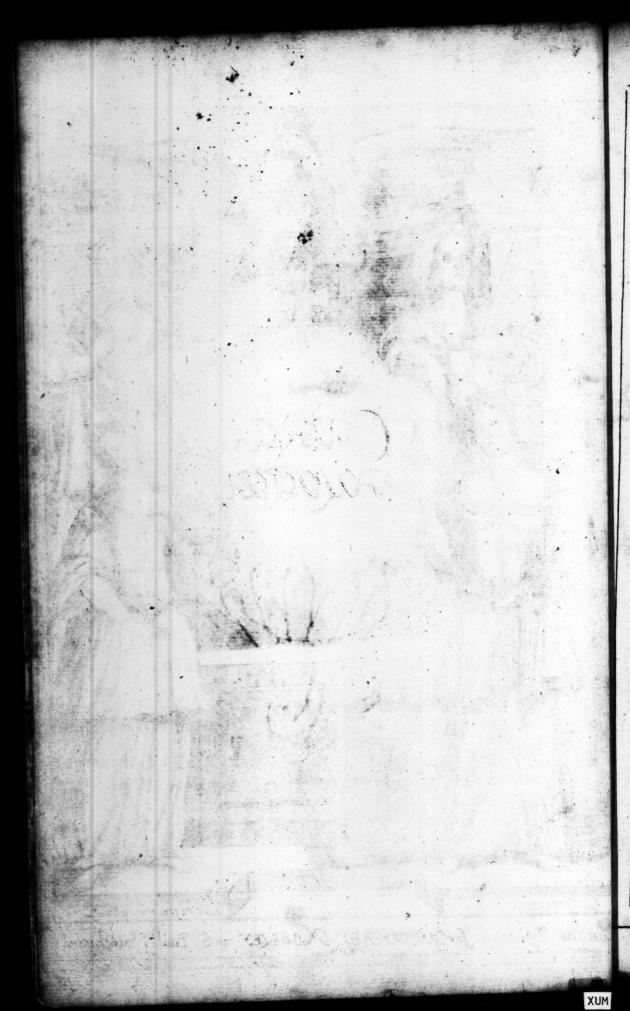
Rot Muriel



LONDON Printed for HUMPHREY MOSELEY in St Paul's Churchyard



Curia Politiæ:

OR, THE

APOLOGIES

OF SEVERALL

PRINCES:

Justifying to the WORLD

Their most Eminent Actions, by the strength

OF

REASON,

And the most Exact Rules

O F

POLICIE.

Written in FRENCH by the acurate Pen of MONSIEUR de SCUDERT,
Governour of NOSTRE-DAME.

And now faithfully Render'd into ENGLISH.

With the FIGURES of many Emperors and Kings.

LONDON,

Printed for Humphrey Moseley at the sign of the Prince's-Arms in Saint Pauls Church-yard, M. DC. LIV.

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druo His Most Excellent Majesty

By the Grace of God, of England, Scotland,

By the Grace of God, of England, Scotland, France, and Ireland King, Defender of the Faith, &c.

SIR,

Princes adventured to be seen in England in Your Royal Absence; having no splendour to Countenance them, but the beams of their own worth; nor

any Patron to shelter them but true Honour and Renown: yet a good Success hath waited on them through some tempestuous years, wherein they have been entertained by many of Your Majesties Subjects: who Amazed or satisfied with the Piercing and Transcendent Reasons of these Earthly Gods, have (Probably) better learned their duties towards their Soveraigns; and have found out a more even Path to guide them to Loyalty and true Obedience to Gods Anointed. Amongst these more Glorious Heroes, some have been Your Royal Ancestors

A 2

and

and Predecessors, as King Henry the Seventh, King Henry the Eighth, and King James of Blefsed Memory: Others have been either of Your Bloud, or in Alliance and Amity with Your Predecessors. And King Lewis the Fourth of France, hath not only been an Example and Parallel of Your Troubles; but may prove a good Counsellor and Pilot to guide Your Peoples hearts to their Native Duties; and so more easily and joyfully to raise a degree to Elevate and Preserve Your Majesty in Your Illustrious Throne. These twenty Princely Oratours; now speaking English (as they have already French) expect Your Gracious Patronage throughout all Your Majesties Dominions; over which, that You may exceed all Your Ancestors with a most Glorious and Happy Reign, is the hearty Prayer of a two rach to an

Your Majesties Devoted
Chaplain and Loyal Subject

Edward Wolley. D.D.

The



The ambor to the Reader.

o forve Leve the four reenth, at leaft, anders and thrections, who councel

led borders and limits fortune had vouchfa-fed to call the to Court, and there appointed my

EADER on



This not one of the least remarkable affurances of the fage Conduct of those, who Governthis Monarchy, to see how their high Prudence and incomparable Wildom remove the Enemies of France so far from our

Kingdom, that the Governours of the Frontiers have leifure to fludy and compose Books It is in the fruition of this profound repose, wherein Ienjoy, even in the midst of the Tu mults of War, an opportunity to render in fome degree, my retiredness more profitable, by composing this Work, which I now expose to Publique Censure and Approbation. I believe (Reader) though Fortune was not pleased to ordain me for the management of more sublime affairs; yet the gave me leave to fee, that if the had pleafed to call me, I might happily, have acquitted

quitted my self without dishonour or disgrace : and that he who caused Lewis the fourth to speak so nobly, and so many other Kings, might have bin capable to serve Lewis the fourteenth, at least, under their orders and directions, who councel so fuccessfully, if in stead of a Command in Remote extremities of the State, and most imbroiled borders and limits, Fortune had vouch fafed to call me to Court, and there appointed my imployments. In effect, though naturally I had Genius or disposition to noble enterprises, and had contracted from my birth an absolute stupidity; yet so many great Princes whom I have had the honour to attend, so many splendent Courts which I have feen, so many people, and so different in their Manners, Customs, and Laws, which I have visited, so many Armies, Wars, and various affairs, wherein I have been engaged, both voluntarily and under command fo many Grand Personages, with whom I have had fociety and friendship, so many remarkable events that I have observed, together with those precious reliques of Prudence exhausted out of the Greeks and Romans. All this (I say) is sufficient to inform my judgment, and for Art and education to compleat in me, what Nature could not. And I think (Reader) it were not possible for me to revive Kings to a quick and lively difcourse, without some competent abilities in me: and I dare presume to believe, though my design appear full of confidence, yet it may be excused from being censured rash.

I have then made choice of twenty Princes (out

of univerfal History) and have selected the most eminent actions of their reigns for the subject of this discourse; endeavouring herein to dive and pierce into those reasons and causes which overruled them to their resolutions. In this I seem to be (in a kind) admitted to the Cabinet Councel of these Princes (who are in their graves,) and by most probable conjectures, have hinted at those profound reasons which so directed them. Thus guided by the light of History, I have esfaved to discover those secret and concealed mysteries of State, and so to remonstrate the events of Councels and grand Enterprises, undertaken with so high deliberations. To this end, that if Princes and Monarchs admit not of instruction rifing from their inferiors; yet that they may not refuse it flowing from their equals. This being composed by some Politick reflexions, which are as the muscles and nerves of the body, and refembling all the several parts, make up and discover (Reader) the aim and end of this Work.

Now whether the Builder have the skil to make this high design practical, and so to cause this stately Piece admired and loved according to the beauty of the Model; it is for you (Reader) to judge; for it becomes no one to be Judge and

Supreme in his own affairs.

I have confin'd my self to these 7 or 8 last ages of Time in the election of these Princes, & those others, which may follow in the second part of this Work. The rather, because already so many learned Historians having travelled to Macedonia, have written so accurately and fully, that nothing

nothing is left that may farther relate the Grandure and magnificence of Alexander the Great. So many exquisite Authors, (conversant in the affairs of the Persians and Medes) have follow'd Cyrus to the Conquest of Asia, that nothing of rarity can be superadded: and so many learned Pens have written of Cafar; & commented on his Commentaries, that nothing can be found out to more illustrate those relations. It may be said of those renowned ages of Antiquity in the words of Solomon, That nothing is new under the Sun: and that they have been so often examined, that those rare and precious subjects are rendred now more familiar, and so less admired. As I then walk in a path less obvious to common foot-steps, so am I restrained to more confined and choicer limits; wherefore I have not troubled their famous umbra's, whom an innocent kind of Magick hath fo often fummoned from their Royal Tombs: but leaving those Princely Hero's to the repose of their fepultures, I have prefumed to fummon others from their retirements of obscurity, to present their Noblest Actions to the light

I am assured (Reader) their apparition will not affright you with their Presence, nor their voice daunt your soul: I conjure you then to hear, and to give a favourable audience to these illustrious dead Princes. This is a respect due to their high qualities, and which they exactly look for from those who are most rude and unci-

vil to Thrones, Scepters, and Crowns.

A



CATALOGUE

Of the several Princes discoursed of in sol

Henry the Third King of Trance, to Tibese and Palifp de
HE Emperor Charls the Fifth, to his Royal Sifters,
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Pepin le Bref, King of Francy fothe Archbijdep of Milence,
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Don Rande, Kengdom,



A Radio Tree F

Of the severall Subjects and Debates in this VOLUME.

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Whether a Prince ought to speak high and boldly to an Army and Subjects newly reconciled?

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Whether it be lawful to prye into, and censure the actions of Soweraign Princes?

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Whether all ways of Agrandifing a mans felf be lawful and commendable?

VI:

Whether it be expedient to force an Enemy to dispair? VII.

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Whether the Publick ought to be preferred above the private interest?

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Whether it be consistent with Soveraignty to be divided and communicable. Whe-

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- Whether it were better to embrace a Crown in the right of Conquest, or as lawful heir, or in the right of marriage of the Princess an Heretrix to the Crown?

XIII.

Whether faith ought to be kept inviolably by Princes?

XIV.

Whether a Prince may break his faith with another Prince who hath first wiolated his?

XV.

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XVI.

Whether all Princelike actions ought not to be sacrificed, and to aim at true Glory and Renown?

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Whether it be permitted to create himself a King?

XVIII.

- Whether it be not true Policy to humble the bigh and infolent, and to remit and pardon the submiss and prostrated Subjects?
- Whether it be good for a Prince to have a chief Minister of State superintendent to all others?

VV.

Whether Conquerors ought to expose themselves to the common and ordinary perils of War?

Curia



Curia Politiæ.



F the hearts of all men in general (as the Scriptures testisse) are so unsearchable that none but God can find them out, or penetrate and discover the secrets thereof. Certainly the hearts of Princes are so profound Abysses, as all the subtlety of the People cannot sound or fathom: The hearts

of Kings are in the hands of God. It is Gods own affurance, and he alone is able to differn and know them. As Kings reign by him alone, so he alone knows by what Maxims he will have them rule. The distance is so far betwixt us and the Prima Mobilia, that their motions are indiscernable to us; they train and lead us on after them, but we neither know how nor why we follow them: And as they are infinitely above us, so if our curiosity should soare aloft to discover the wayes and ends of their Revolutions, the most elevated spirits would find themselves infinitely low and short in their capacities.

If God (as he names himself) be an invisible God, Princes who are the living Images of God, are in that attribute like unto him. The Israelites sometimes said, Welbace feen the living God, we stall dye and not live. It is little less dangerous to peep and prye into the secrets of Princes. If God be a consuming five, and is concealed in the stery staming bush, the Majesty of Soveraigns bath a near resemblance to this inaccessible light, which never suffers it felf entirely visible no more then God himself. And if the splendors of the Celestial Majesty commanded the Chernburs to coven their

U

faces

faces with their wings: the glory of terrestrial Soveraignty is so illustrious and bright, that it not only transcendeth, but diminisheth all inferiour lights and luminations. strongelt lighted Eagles are too weak to dare to look stedfastly on these glorious Suns. These mortal Deities may then fay (but in all humble reverence to the great King of Heaven,) I am what I am, without a farther discovery of themselves, and their Royal pleasure. And the derrogation is less, or none at all; seeing the holy Scriptures have admitted Kings to be Stiled Gods on Earth. The Fable of Prometbeus teacheth little less, but that it is highly dangerous to desire to know the depth of Princes thoughts, and so to have a will to resemble those most sublime Persons. Give me what you please, (said a sage Courtier to his Lord and Master) seeine you give me not leave to have a share in your secrets. Notwithstanding the great danger of tasting the forbidden fruit, there is a natural Curiofity in all men to know Good and Evil; which hath derived it felf from the first man to all posterity. As for the concealments of feerets, they enflame the mind to a greater ardor of knowing them : And it is received as a common Maxim, In great enterprises, it is noble enoughto dare to wish them. And the more Princes endeavour to conceal their thoughts, the more the people labour to divine them.

Phy fick is not the fole Art, which may be termed, The Art or Mystery of Conjectures: Vulgar Policie hath no other Foundations, and worketh by no other Principles. Tiberius thought fit to conceal himself amongst the Rocks of the Isle of Caprea, and to envelop his true resentment of affairs, under the veil of ambiguous terms; and out of these equivocal notions, Rome toiled to explicate his most enigmatical obscurities, and mysterious Oracles. When the Thunderbolt fell on Sejames head, the most ignorant of all the people took the vanity to brag and boaft, that they forefaw the tempest long before that accident arived. And that Tiberius had not fo much as a thought in his folitude, which they had not formerly divined in the Capitol, or foreseen at the foot of Mount Aventine: fotrue it is, that every one hath a ftrong opinion of his worth and great abilities, and boldly presumes to censure crashly the intentions of Princes. In conclusion, it may be said to this purpose, that a Kingdom hath as many

Ministers

Ministers of State, as men; and that all are assistants to the highest Councels, and impart their opinions to the deliberations of Peace and War; and that the great Engine of Government hath no results so secret, but what are absolutely discovered; This is the infirmity and disease of all Countries and Ages; but if it was ever Epidemical and spreading over the earth, if ever Curiosity did exercise the Parts and Policie of the most refined Wits, or the less ingenuous, and provoked the whole world to admire and talk. It was doubtless then, when the Emperor Charls the Fifth voluntarily surrendred his Empire to his brother, and his Kingdom into the hands of his son.

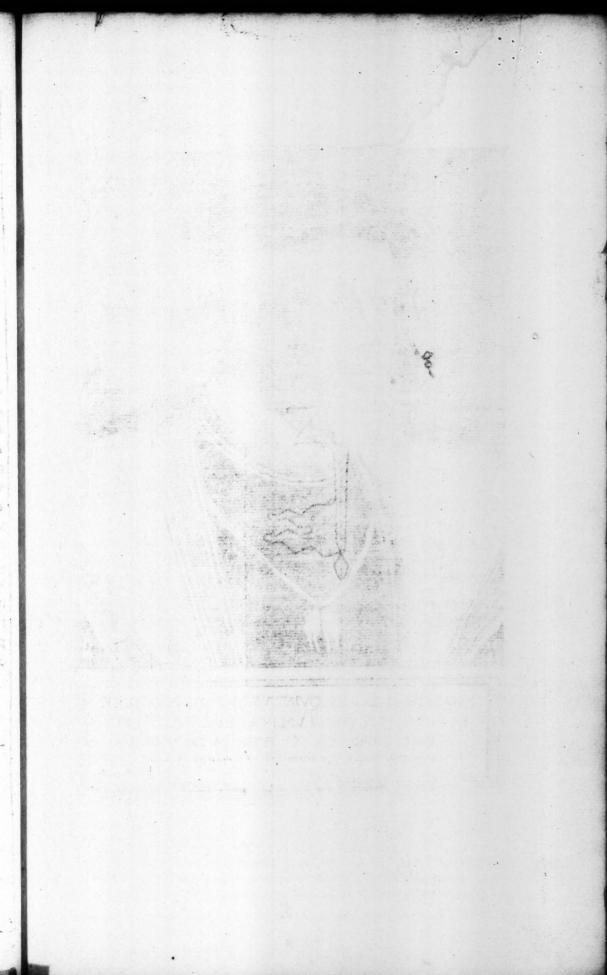
All men were amazed to see a soul so ambitious of true Renown, freely to renounce Glory and Granduer, to pass from a Throne to an Hermitage, and from the high quality of a puissant Soveraign, to the low Fortune of a Private Person. And as they stood at gaze, so each one defired to search into the intentions of this Prince, and to guess at those reasons which transported him to an Action so extraordinary. Now as sometimes the grave Sages please to intermix themselves with the common people, and in their condescentions permit themselves to be trod on in a croud; let us presume to make our conjectures of him, who lives not in our Age, and whose action is above the reach of our knowledge. And let us observe this most Illustrious Prince (now in his solitude) speaking to the Queens his Royal Sisters, who were his companions in his voyage, when he passed out of Flanders into Spain, after this grand Action.

The

Ministers of State, as men; and that all are affiliants to the highest Councels, as dimpare their opinions to the deliberations of I care and Wars, and carella erect Engine of Godine at hath no relules to terret, here what are abbiently discovered to the constitution of the care their was early condensed and oreading the care of the care of the Councel was a fine of the Councel with the care of the Councel was and the care of the Councel was and the Councel was the Councel of the Councel was a fine of the Councel of the Counc

All governous and the control of the same of the state of the which is a self are Close of Granduct, to free from e filtere to an i cominge, and hom the high citality of a paid of lavoral or othelow? ortage of a Privace Ferion. And are a flood a cerze, freed one desired to teach lines the interest of a state of the contract of the second of which managered in the an abreatant Now is former and every traces or sie to be comix themselves with the amount of the their constitution of oromic of supply bear a me bon coorself and in hales artimiches of him, who live notinour yet, and abole is sport to above the reach of our knowledge. And let as obleve this make stuffman Prioce Ing vin his blire let (peaking to the Our coshis Royal Siftere, who were his comparions in his voorse when he naked war of Flances and opuin, a con elle process A.A. and

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PROGENIES DIVÎM QVINTVS SIC CAROLYS ILLE IMPERII CÆSAR LVMINA ET ORA TVLIT. ÆTAT SVÆ XXXI. ANN. M. D. XXXI.

In I. SVAL XXXI, ANN. M.D. XXX Impenum oceano: famam qui lerminat astris,

Lombart Fulp Alondr



DISCOVRSE OF THE EMPEROVR

TO THE QUEENES HIS
DEAR SISTERS.



Doubt not but that at this inftant the whole world is ready to Defeart on that stupendious action I have undertaken; and that the greatest contemplators imploy (at prefent) their deepest Policy, Morality, and Reason to divine and fearch out the causes of my resolutions. This action is of such an admirable and extraordinary nature, as may render a

stonishment to the curiosity of the most profound and most capeable understandings; In the undertaking whereof, and although I live in an Age wherein I have these more illustrious & great Personages to beare witnesse with me; Philip King of England; Maximilian King of Bohemia, Elianor Queene of France and Portugall, Mary Queene of Hungarie, Emanuell Philibert Duke of Savoy, Christiana Daughter to the King of Den-merke and Duches of Lorraine: All the Knights of the Order of the golden Fleece, all the Grandees of Spaine; all Persons of Eminent condition in Flanders, and an infinite number of other people; yet I may fay, and my reason tells me, that I may well doubt, whether posterity can bee perswaded to beleeve, what I have undertaken to effect. All Ages fornish us with too many examples of Viurpers of Empires and Crownes; and of Princes who have left their Scepters: but in the univerfall hiftory of times, it is most rare to heare of any, who voluntarily quitted Soverainty without constraint : I shall onely except the Emperour Dioclefian; and (perhaps) I shall have none to imitate me. The world fees that I have transferred to my Son, all the Kingdomes, Provinces and Isles, of which I was Soveraione, both in the new, and old world, that Thave dispatched the Prince of Awange to my Brother Ferdinando Wing of the Romans, to present him with the Scepter and Crowne Imperiall; I have (already) been observed to with-draw from a Royall Palace, and to have retired to a private house at Bruxells, and thence to have descended to an humble Hermitage: But (it is possible) that thousands can never judge rightly, nor search directly into the motives

tives of so great a changes If I had lost many famous Battailes, If the Turkes and Barbares had invaded the Provinces of the Empire or had they all difloyally revolted, then might men have faid or censured, that I had discreetly quitted, what I had not been able longer to protect and guard; and that I had done well to abandon voluntarily, that which might have beene violently forced from me. But the whole earth knows, That fince my age of fixteene yeares, (when first bore a Scepter) to the age of fifty fixe yeares (when at laft I forrendred them all) my life and all my Adventures, were nothing elfe, but a Concatenation of villories and Tryumphes, and a glorious continuation of most renowned succeffes; I have enjoyed forty yeares the Royalties & Kingdomes of my Father; which I have now conferred on my Son, and therty fixe yeares the Majefty of the Empire, which I have furrendred to my Brother with fuch fuccesse and glory, that I dare say (without vanity) amongst the greatest Cafars, of all my predecessors, Charles the great onely beares comparison with Charles the fifth. In effect, what Prince can be preferred before Charles, fince Charles was preferred before Francis? This high Soule (whom glory inflam'd to become my mortall Enemy; and whom the Renown of my victories so oft amaz'd, aspir'd to the Emp re as well as I; and left nothing unattempted that might make his way leffe difficult; he moved by all secret engines to gaine intelligence, & make his party in Germany, he allarm'd the towns along the River of Reine. with the great numbers of his Forses and Armies, the more to terrifie and dispirit the Princes Electors; notwithstanding the Genius of Angustus was more prevalent then that of Anthony, although that of Anthony was more subtill then those of other Men, yet (mauger all despite of this illustrious Rivall) I obtained the Empire to which hee pretended, and gained the Throne with more honour, (as all Europe knowes) then my competitor: This was not the sole advantage which fortune crowned me with in degrees above my mortall enemies; But on the contrary, shee seem'd willing that I should bee borne in such an Age, that should chiefly serve for my renowne; And the Tryumphs of Charles, had not received their compleate ornament, if this illustrious conquest had not attended his Royall Chariott. I know not (my dearelister) if it may not prove an errour in my judgement, or a blemish to my wisedome to remember you (at this reencounter) of the imprisonment of your husband; first, because that he is not now alive, and then because he was my prisoner: yet the relation is a sweet temptation to a soule so ambitious of true glory, as that of mine; and to filence it, is not an ordinary difficulty. And now (to discourse the passages as they fall) to take Prisoner a King with his fword in his hand, in the midst of the field, the battaile being all inveloped in blood and fire, the forces routed, and invironed, the Colours torne, the Squadrons flying, and the maine body in confusion; some dying, and others flaine outright; fuch a King (I fay) though intirely vanquished, is no lesse glorious then his conquerer. Permitt mee then (fweet Sifter) to call to my memory that Battaile of Pavie, as one of the most eminent Actions of all my Raigne, and if you sadly call to mind that this Prince (whom Italy and Spaine faw my Prisoner) was your husband; yet forget not (if you please) that I am also your Brother; But now to passe from Forraine to Domestick affaires, from Warres abroad to civil Diffentions, and fo from Spaine to Flanders;

what honour did I not gain; when I did chastise the Revolted City of Gaunt, this Rebellion was so great, that the consequence might have been terrible, and yet to fee this fire extinguished, before the flame grew higher, I was forced to have confidence in an Antient Enemy newly reconciled; and enter into a Province of a Prince, whom I remitted out of Prifer, and to take affurance from one whom I had forced to pay a Ransom: In a word, I was constrained to adventure the hazard of lofing all, that by my bold endeavours I might preferve Flanders's no Policy (more suspicious then mine) could well overcome fuch scruples in this conjuncture when during the time after deliberation) the Rebels found out wayes to foment new Revolts, and to corroborate their unjust usurpation. As for me, I used all waies, and meanes; and as foon as my reason discovered, that I could not suffer the contempt of that Rebellious Town without great difgrace, and much dishonour, I commended Cafar and his Fortune to the mercy of the Wind and Waves; I flighted that which others thought I had caufe to fear; I marched throughout all France Heroickly, and at last chastised this Popular City; and reduced her to her Devoirs. Truly Francis used generosity well beseeming him; (But I think I may say in this occasion) my courage well beseemed me. Now to return from Flanders into Spain, if we look toward Font-Arabia, what new Trophies hath not the discovered. This Siege cost me no more dayes, then many believed it would have expended years. And it fell out there, what Cafar once faid (veni vidivice) But (my most dear Sister) that which I relate to you alone, my wisdome obliges me to deny to all Europe: Your discretion hath merited this Confidence, and he who hath trusted you with his life, shall never fear to trust you with any fecret. We tell you then that the gaining of Rome addeth a marvellous lustre to our renown, which others would endeavour to obscure. It is at her Capitoll where Cafars and the Emperours ought to Tryumph, and it is just to make this imperious City (the Mistrisse of the World) to stoop to the power and puissance of her chiefe Lords and Masters But if vertue be scrupulous (in this conjunction) and that any thing feem too much to struggle with, or disturbe her victorious magnificence; let us leave Rome, and turne our eyes towards Boleyn, which faw us receive the Imperiall Crown from the Soveraign Bishop; and yet, if she can expect a further facrifice to pacific and appeale; and fo to cause her utterly to forget the facking of Rome; the may (if the please) follow us into Auftria, where she shall fee we have proved the Buckler of Christendom in repulsing the forces of invincible Solyman; who was the greatest Emperour of the Turks shee shall see us make head against our greatest Enemy, and to damme up that dangerous Torrent, which threatned the Ruine of all Germany, & (Possibly) of all Europe; but if the Ladie Vertupl ease to march with me out of Europe into Africa, thee may look on me there Grapling with the same Enemies; That is, the Mahometans, the greatest Foes to Christianity. Who hath not heard of the taking and facking of Goulet:a? and what Climate is fo remote from the Coast of Barbary, as hath not talked of this grand Action; seeing that almost all Christians were spectators on the effects of this Warres where I alone caused the Roman Eagle to fly in Tryumph, in those places where she never appeard since the defeat of Hannibal, and the victory of Scipio? Who hath not understood of the flight of Cairad-B 2

den Barbaroffa, that famous, and formidable Pirate, who fo enriched that abhominable Town of Algiers, and made so many Slaves? he was the terrour of all our Coasts, and kept all our Navall Force in subiection : he stiled one of his Ships the Dragon of the fea ; notwithstand, ing this Dragon flew before the Eagle : And if the Pirate loft not his Navy, his Life, nor his Liberty, yet he lost his Honour, which he ought to have prized above them all. This famous Thief fled from his mighty Wealth, and wee had the honour to pursue him flying, who was the Tyrant of the Sea. Who hath not heard of the fame of the taking of Tunis, the most important, and capitall City of that whole Kingdome? Have wee not cause to hope (as the effect of so great Atchievements) that Fez, and Morocco, shall have the same deftiny? That Algiers at felf shall fall within our power? And that all Affrick shall yeeld entirely to the fortune of our Victories? Yes (my dear Sisters) we have cause to hope, and the successe had been infallible, according to expectation, if the Affairs of Europe had not stop'd our progresse in Barbary, and that wee had not been constrain'd to returne speedily to Sea. It is true, I changed the climate, and encountered with a new fort of Enemies, but lost not the least point of good fortune ; Victory followed me from Africa to Germany; and the Duke of Cleve found that I became speedily a Terrible Enemy; I defied him and all his Troops, took him and all his Towns: And if my Glemencie had not equalized my Valour, I had buried him under the Ruines of his own Territories. Then the Error of Luther had infected Germany, and I could no leffe then with Fire and Faggot oppose the birth of that dangerous Monster. How many Towns did fortifie themselves against our victorious Armies, which saw their own Walls thrown down, and demolished by the successfull strength of our puissant Forces: "limes yeelded first, Auspurgh followed quickly after; Halle was willing to imitate the one & the other; and above thirty Towns more fubmitted likewise: at last Strasbourg, with her famous Clock (of which all Europe talketh) remembers the hour of her surprise, and that of my Triumph. What shall I tell you of the Duke of Saxonie, the dangerous head of that party, that violent Defender of the Impostures of Luther, who fet all Germany in Armes, and all the Countries of the Empire in confusion? Did it not turn to his dishonour, and my glory; that God conducted Cafar and his fortune? Having so good, so great a Pilot, his Ship could not perish? Did not all Europe see the very foundation of this Herefie imprisoned within my power? and hath not that Prison clearly seen, that the Cause which I defended was that of Heaven, and that a Robbing of mee, was a Robbing of God? and seeing that God will be fir us, we may demand, Quis erit contra nos? Who dare be against us? Thus (my dear Sisters) I have had this particular fortune, that almost alwayes those who dared to attaque my Person, or Forces, have not onely lost the hopes of Conquering me, but even themselves, their Forces, their Armies, their Estates, and their Liberties. It is now that this very thought calls to memory the imprisonment of Francis le Grand, and his imprisonment, the great advantages which I obtained with those good successes which attended: I shall conclude with a Narration of my Successes, as the chiefest Honour to my greatest actions. Hedin did offer Sacrifice to my memory, and defired permission to be inserted in the Schedule of my Triumphs. Te-

roune being taken appeares no little ornament; and many other Towns, which I subdued in France, humbly craved the same favours. But (most dear Ladies) I shall yet in this discourse mount higher then I have before. Then know that I caused Paris to tremble, which alone :s able to skake a Kingdome; Paris that vast and superbe City, which could (as antient Rome) levy Armies in an instant; Paris (I fay) which the whole Earth considers now, as the Abridgment of the world, and as the wonder of the Universe. After this (dear Ladies) I shall not dare to speak any thing, of what I have done in Europe and in Africk; But, (as a device and a well drawn intention presented to me) which fansied me to passe beyond Hercales's Pillars. Remember yet (if you please) that it was under my auspitious conduct and Authority that Peren was first discovered. This inexhaustible source of Gold and treasure, and this new World, the old World never knew; and of this mavellous masse of Riches, my successours may more truly glory, then ever Pompey did, and raise Troopes of Armed Men, stamping their feete upon the Earth as oft as they please. Yes (my deare Ladies) it is this that will cause the Renowne of Spaine to be illustrious to all posterity, and render her formidable to all the Earth. And to present you with an Epitomy of my life since my age of feaventeen years, I have made nine vo: ages into Germany, fixinto Spain, featen, into Italy, four into France, ten into the Low-countries, two into England, two into Affrica, besides eleaven times traversing the Main Ocean. What shall I say any more, I have made Warres, Truces, Peace and Alliances, equally honorable, And (except the Enterprize of Algiers, and the Seige of Marcelles.) you shall finde that my Reign was a continued prosperity; and that that antient Captaine, which the Greekes stiled the Towntaker, gained not so many as I. But (perhaps you will fay unto me) fince all these affaires succeed so favourably ; and that you appeared like a Star situated in the Heavens, attended with fortunate aspects, thereby inabled to Regulate your own destinies, wherefore will you abandone the Helme of that great vessell which you have so prosperously governed, transferring those great affairs to a young Pilot; who hath not so large experience as you? his high endeavours may be as great, or more, yet, 'tis possible, not fo fuccessfull. O (most honoured Sisters) it is the desire of immortall Glory that caused me to quit this transient splendor; and to live eternally in the memory of men; that I cease to Reign. It is true, that (to this instant) fortune hath been ever propitious to me, that she hath followed my Standard, that the never was unconstant unto my party; Nay her favours furpassed my expectations, and seconded all my Ambitions: Put I know well this is not allwaies her nature, and I am equally perswaded that I ought not to be too confident; for having placed me upon the very highest step of glory (to which degree no man ascended before me) she hath withall elevated me so high; that on the view of the circumference where I stand, I am invironed with precipices which are able to amaze the greatest courage. Though I walk fecurely, (accustomed to behold those dangers without fear;) yet one falle step may cause all the glory of my renown to be dasht in peeces, and hazard all the travailes of my whole life to be lost in an unfortunate moment. Yes (my dear Sisters) as I know the inconstancy of Fortune, fo I understand the injustice and malice of men, and

bow they look on Conquerouss: They would not that they should be fometime successfull, but constantly and alwaies; it is not by precedent noble actions, but by the last events that they censure and judge of the Grandeur of all former Enterprizes; and when fortune for fakes them , renown takes leave with her, and reputation dies and followes no farther; some will say that meer chance gave them their advantages, and that their own imprudence destroy dall: and truly if Alexander himself, after he had gained the Battell of Granique, had lost that of Arbella, he had returned without honour into Macedonia, Although (effectively) he had been neither lesse wise nor valiant. Why should not I then fixe a naile in the wheele of this inconstant Chariot; to stop her instability? and why should the World think it no danger to expose to losse fuch high renown obtained with fo much industry? were it not better that I should quit the Company of this mutable Lady, then that shee should (coylie) for sake me? And that Ishould rather descend voluntarily from the. Throne, then to expose my self to the hazard of a precipitious fall? A man ought not to flatter and deceive himselfe in an affaire so important as this, my Throne is not more secure then that of Bajazet, and as for Tamberlain, was not Barbary alone capable to confound him and all his Power? There are fewer Crowns and Scepters intire (in all the Earth) then those which lie bruised and broken under the feet of Fortune. This grand & sadobject may teach all Princes (who strike their Subjects with fear) to be daunted and tremble themselves. It is then with the strength of reason, and a consideration so high, that I arrive safely on shore, having hitherto sayled so fortunately, and so much the sooner; because I can be no greater then I am (or could) reasonably defire mores should I then vainly expose my selfe to Storms, Rocks, Sands, and Shipwrack it selfe? Besides, as Kings have not the immortality of the Gods (if a Christian may be admitted to use this Phrase) so they have not their Power: But (on the contrary) are subject to the most feeble casualties and all infirmities of other men. I am remembred by my diseases, which daily increase upon me, to take order for my Supream and last affaires, for fear of being prevented, and to remit the Scepter of Government (which I cannot longer well support) to the shoulders of a Prince more young and vigorous then I, and consequently, more capable to bear up so great a weight with all the Royall dignity of the Empire. The Soul and body (my dear Sifters) are so chained together, that the weaknesse of the one must needs communicate infirmitie to the other, and then, when the constitution of the one is altered (it is very possible) that the operation of the other must admit a change: Judge then, after so many People, and so many Princes have listned to my voice, as to an Oracles and followed my opinion as decrees of Heaven (if I had done well to have exposed my infirmities to the eyes of all the World?) No, the pangs of the Gout are so sharpe and picquant, that they force my Patience to fighs and Groans; It must needs be then greater wisdome that those cryes shall Echo no where but in the defart, and where noe person shall over-hear them. Would Men, that I should do like Tiberius, who to preserve the shadow of his former Power, was obliged to disguise his misery in an Island, where he was confined by dispatching daily Warrants to Rome for the death of some Citizen, for no other end but that Rame might know Tiberius was still living?

No, this Barbarous proceeding becomes not a Christian, a Prince, nor a Man, and I hate to practice it. For that time that I have had my health, I conceive I have governed my Subjects in such a fashion, that none (except my Enemies) can be displeased that I either lived, or reigned. But seeing my strength failes me, I shall not farther prefer mine ambition above the safety of my Subjects. Other Princes leave their Crowns to their Children onely at that instant when they dye, that is, when they are not fit to weare the Diademeany longer. But as for me, I was never willing that Death should make this prefent to my Sonne; but rather, that he should receive, and hold this Bleffing from me; and as I was a means to make him live, fo (before I dyed) I would be a meanes to make him Reign, and thereby oblige him to me more entirely. Moreover (not to conceal any of my thoughts) I know wel that most people of the Earth imitate the Injuffice of the antient people of Libia, who adored the Rifing Sun, but regard not the Sun-fetting. Yes (Royal Ladies) the flourishing age of Philip withdraws the Subjects hearts from the gray haires of Charles; they would regard the latter years of my Reign as an unseasonable cloud which interposed the bright beams of this newstar, and attend with impatience athing which (rationally) they ought to fear; and if the more moderate party be pleased with their attendance; yet others indifcreet, are inflamed with their new defires; and will not spare to make unjust vows, to hasten a birth to their expectations. The humours of men, who peat in an eternall change, and dwell in a continued instability, never satisfied with the present condition of affairs, fancie new felicities in their imaginations of things to come. It may be faid of the People, as of those who are fick, who think they shall receive a Refreshment by change of the Scituation, or place where they lyes and how good foe'r a Prince is, we may eafily discern fewer fighs and groans at his Funerals, then cries, or acclamations of joy at the Coronation of his Successor. Then they fancy to themselves the Golden Age, and the innocency of former dayes, when their new Master begins to Reign; and fix Moneths after (perhaps) regrett the death of the former Prince, repine, and murmur at him that is alive: David, who was according to Gods own hear; yet was not so in the eyes of Shim i and Abialon: And who knows (in imitation of the latter) if the Maladie of Rebellious spirits shall not prove contageous in the evill Counsels of Sycophants, and that Flatterers may not infect the Soul of Philips He is well born, but young; he is my Son, but a Prince; and as I am not wifer then David, so (it is possible) he may prove no more obedient then Absolon. I know that men have observed his sad complaine in England of the condition of his Fortune, and I am not ignorant of what his Confederates have counselled to exasperate him, in regard the Englifb would not entitle him their King, but the Husband of their Queen. (Madams) would men that I should hear that this young Lyon had broken his Chains, and that his fury had enraged him to trouble the course of my prosperities? Have I not encountered enough with For reign Warres, but that I must be embroyled in a Civill? And would they that I should commit my felf to a condition more hatefull then death? to be at diffention with my own Sonne, whom I love more then mine own life? Should I expose my self to the danger of a War, where the victory and the defeat would prove equally fune ste, and

direfull to me? Where if I were conquered I must be vanquilhed by a Paricide? Or if I should prove the Conquerour, should be constrain'd to facrifice mine own Sonne as an Oblation to the Empire? And fo blot out the high crime of Treafon with blood flowing from mine own veins? No, no, Herod, and Charles follow not the same Maximes, if Herod caused his children to die, I love rather to cause mine to Reign: And as the innocency of Fhilip is like to that of those young Princes, I have been willing to provide that hee should not bee able to lose it. To this end, that I might preserve my self from imitating that unfortunate Polititian, I beleeve that few Princes will copy out my example, as I have had much difficulty to find out any to imitate of former Ages. However Posterity will commend my design, when they shall understand how much my Sonne hath merited; I having done a thing so extraordinary. And I wish, with all my heart, that Philip may have children fo wife and hopefull, that hee may doe for them, as I am about to doe for him, and that he may voluntarily fur-

render his Empire without any constraint at all.

All these reasons (honoured Sisters) are (as seemes to me) forcible enough to oblige me to act as I have done. Yet (if without oftentation and vanity I shall discover the secret of my soul) I vow to you I am in part stript from the Empire by a deep sence of Piety, and Devotion to Religion: For why? the rest of my life past hath been mixed in the Tumults of Armies, and with Managerie of War, where he who is stiled Dominus exercituum hath not been so adored as he ought. And I cannot but know that hee (from whom all their puissance springs) will demand an exact account of their Administration: And that they who have judged Nations and People, shall (at last) be judged themfelves. Yes (Sifters) as I know how the ambition of Francis, and mine have troubled all Europe, and interrupted the repose of all Christendom; I fear, that this ardent defire of Renown, which hath so animated us both, will not prove a cause and ground sufficient and lawfull before the undoubted Tribunal of the Justice of GoD: Seeing then, that the misdome of men is but svolubness before him, their vanity can be no other then criminal abhomination. I tell you, I have a fearfull fence of the blood of so many Souldiers flain, of the outcries of so many people ruined, and of the flames of so many Towns burned, lest they sould mount to the Throne of Heaven, and there cry for vengeance against me. But if that be true (which we must not doubt, fince Truth it self speaks it) that the Righteoms fall seven times a day, how often offendeth he who is not just at all? This reflection (my dear Sisters) hath caused me to look on Scepters, Crowns, Kingdoines, and Empires, as common obstacles of my Salvavation; and made me resolve to lose them, to find out means to save my Soul. An old Captaine of mine one day entreating my Passe, and Conge, told methat one ought to have some space and time betwixt the affairs of this life, and the day of death. This piercing word Broke so deeply within my Soul, that it can never be blotted out: And fince that fortunate hour, wherein that fage Captain admonished me, even to this instant, I have imitated his prudence; nor hath that pious Memento flipt out of my memory. No (virtuous Ladies) it was not in a rude Tumult that I concluded this Grand action ; I examined ita hundred times before I undertook it; and after that, I submitted my own blindness to the inspirations of Heaven. Yet if besides

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this so just cause of my Retreat, I may be permitted to adde another reason, which shall be the last end of my discourse: I vow freely, that the death of Francis the first, seemed to say to Charles the fifth, that it was high time for him to cease to live, or at least, longer to Reign; in effect it were not just that this great person should enjoy repose in his Tombe, and that I should continue still in trouble: Seeing that our travells are alike, it is fit (in some respect) that our recompence should be proportionables and as some illustrious Persons buried him when he was dead, I am content (in some fort) to bury my felfe alive. All the Earth cannot now afford an Enemy worthy of Charles, after the death of Francis, and the youth of Henry hath not the proportion of years to that age, to which I am reduced, he ought first to have made three hundred Sieges, and gained more then twenty Battailes, before he be fit to enter the Lists equally with me: It were not just to expose lightly the Glory of an old Captain to the fortune of a young Souldier; I have too much to lofe, and I fee too little to gain, to prevent me from a game so hazardous, and I should not have lesse Testimony of imprudence then of courage. If I should longer be pertinaciously confident, the Seige of Metz hath cleared mine eyes, and makes me see perspicuously that fortune, like Ladies, loves to court beautifull youth. Let not then men think it strange, if I retire my felf from her service, and commend my Son to her favour. In a word, Charles opposed Francis as long as he lived, and Heave Philip to grapple with Hem; as long as he Reignes. It shall suffice for my renown. that I leave off to Reign then, when I have most absolute power, and hence all the World shall be in an amaze; shall dispute and doubt, which Act shall be more glorious, either to have Reigned so soveraignly, or acquitted the Empire so freely. Seeing therefore that the Empires of the chiefest Cafars were not thore glorious then that of mine, it is fit that having excelled all others, I should at last conquer my felf, quitting my Ambition with my Crowns, and Scepters, and so with this new kind of Victory obtain an unheard-of glory, which all posterity shall not equallize, but with much difficulty. Let us go on then (most incomparable Ladies) let us go on to honour the Trees of my defart, and store my Wildernesse of retirement, with the Monuments and glorious Trophies of so many Nations; and we will make the whole Earth confesse, that he that had power to quit so many Crowns and Scepters, was not unworthy to wear them.

The Censure.

Ertainly it is not leffe difficult to quit Crowns and Scepters, then to gaine and Conquer them: and those who say it is lawfull to violate the Lawes to gain a Soveraign Crown, had no regard of giving approbation to that Ast which the Emperour Charles the sifth effected in this unparalell'd example and Resolution. That wicked woman who caused her Chariot to wheele over the body of her own Father, to make her way more easie to his Throne, never thought of a voluntary resignation of a Crown as Charles did. An effect so stupendeous and extraordinary, that it surprises all the World: Many will give no credit to it, some admire it, others (without judgement) slight the Assion as not worthy imitation; some attribute this Act to the Grandeur of his courage, others

(if I durft fay it) to his pufillanimity, His own Son (and fo Strada doth affure us) could not abstain from a gallant and ingenious Raillery, for when one told him he had the hap of a good year when the Emperour his father surrendred his Crown he replyed that his Father might have another when to repent it. This sentence was a certain prognoftick of the humor of Philip the second. And these different discourses of the Father and Son, makes it evident to the World that Philip would not appear of the temper of Charles : And that it should never te faid of him, that antiquity related of a Noble Grecian, that, Tydides was better then his Father. This fubtle and cunning Polititian refolved not to be fo kind to Philip the third as his Father had been to him; who through the infirmities of age, and the Gout, and the thoughts of death, conceived himselfe obliged to furrender a Scepter he bad born folong. Our Lewisthe eleventh, likeed not a Maxime and resolution of this Nature; who, as long as he could retain his foul within his body, held fast all the markes of Reyalty with Severaign Power. It is true that he commended them (at the last moment of bis death) to his Son, but he sent them in such a fashion, as a man may easily believe the Ast was rather to tast his inclination, then to oblige his Son, and rather to discover the Daulphins resentment, then to expresse his own paternall tendernesse. A man may say that this Prince seemed to have a long time to live, because he defired to prolong his Reign, he used all endeavours to cause bis miseries to dye, that men might know that he was yet alive, he fortified the Castles of Plessis, and Tours rather against death then any other Enemy; he experienced the choicest and rarest remedies to renew Old Age, and cure his Consumption: And if his Christianity had not sweetned the Afferity of Policie, it may be well beleeved, that he would have ordained when he was a dying , what once a great Polititian appointed, that he would have showers of tears run plentifully at his Funerals, thereby (if it were possible) to cause the living to refeat his power when he was in the grave. And now, considering all the precedent Affairs, I may be justly permitted to bonour, and commend a Spaniard (if a Prince born in Flanders may bear that name) and dare venture to say, the action of the Emperour CHARLES the fifth, was Grand, Glorious, truly Noble, and Hercick: For he freely parted with that which the losse and ruin of ten bloody Battels could not force him to. He understood (at last) the vanities of those Grandeures which he had so much courted; and deprived Fortune of all power of robbing him of any thing, and as his Motto was, Plus ultra, fo he concluded he had something to endeat our beyond his Empire, and earthy Kingdomes to look after: 7 bis great foul found out (at last) that the whole Earth was but as a point, or prick in comparison of Heaven : Without doubt the blessed Spirit which guides the hearts of Kings (and so a great King tells us) insused this generous Resolution. And though this Action have no example but that of Dioclesian (whom the Primitive Christians permitted not to be ranged amongst good Princes, yet we may confesse and avow, it was a sublime, and high Act, worthy of greatest admiration, and most worthy of those happy times, when men said, Philosophi sunt Reges, & Reges Philosophantur. To conclude, it is not leffe rare to see a King become an humble Hermite, then to see a poor Gardiner advanced to be a King, as Abdolominus was, whom Alexander commanded to be crowned. Now as it is rare and admirable to see one furrender, and quit a Crown , as CHARLEs the fifth, fo it is no leffe to be admired to see one assume, and take it up, as one of our Kings did, who was Lewisthe fourth. His Father was dead in prison, his Subjects in rebellion, and (at the same time) he an Exile in England, but the successe of time changed the fate of all affairs, and frook a deep sense into the Rebels thoughts

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Lewis the 4th King of France.

thoughts, so that they (who so evillintreated he Father) talked home the son to elevate him to the Royall Throne. Behold here that gallant young Prince at the sea side, and in the view of those vessels wherein he sailed from Dover to Callis thus congratulating his subjects, before he accepted the present of his Scepter.



LEVVIS THE FOURTH

To his Revolted Subjects.



Efore I shall receive your Oath of Fidelity, which I may justly demand, and you ought dutifully to take, I shall let you know, you have recalled (this day) a Prince (who during his Exile) had nothing else to doe, but to study how to Rule and Reign; and hereby I shall enforce you to believe that you shall not be able to make a Royal Throne a passage

into my Fathers Prison: And after you have presented me with a Crown, to dare to wish me so much ill, as once to think of Chains and Irons. I know well, that this discourse will surprise you, and that you did not beleeve when you presented mee with a Scepter, that I should not rather have received it with Thanks, then Reprehensions; but this act is extraordinary in its commencement, in its progress, and in its conclusion; and it is just that all circumstances should be proportionable. Let it then suffice you onely to know, that if I be ignorant to what point Subjects are to pay their obeisance, yet I am not ignorant to what degree Soveraigns may extend their clemencie: Notwithstanding there is this difference betwixt them, that the Subjests have no limits for the first, but Soveraigns have for the latter. The People are obliged to the Princes wills, both by their Bir.h, and their Laws. They owe them their goods, their lives, and their liberties's and their Princes one them nothing but Justice, which can hardly pardon Traitors. If these Truths, and Maximes had been equally understood, and followed by the late King my Soveraign, and you his People, affaires had not been in that fad condition as they now are. The State had not been reduc'd to such confusion; the Provinces had not been Cantonized; Germanie had not been so full of Factions; Italy had not been so divided; all the Cities of the kingdom had not had fo many Kings as they now have Governors; you had not been guilty of the crime of Treason, in elevating an Ufurper to the Throne, the King my Father might still have Reigned, or (at least) I might have received the Crown from his hands, and not from yours; his Tomb might have been bedewed with my tears, his Scepter had not been prophaned, his Hearle might have been covered with Trophies, and not with Chains. And to speak all in a few words) you might have been happy and innocent. But as his Clemencie, and your Rebellion were the fole causers of all these evils, so your O'edience, and my Justice, are the onely means to make reparation. Confider a little (I pray you) (that you fall not back in the same estate

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wherein you were) in what Relation you now stand; and in what condition I am. First, you have violated all forts of Rights in the person of your King, you have raised a Warre against him, you have assaulted him, and afterwards poysoned him; you have abused the confidence he had in you, you have detained him prisoner with as great Treason as Injustice, with as great insolencie ascruelty? an injury which was never offered (hardly) to the person of an ordinary Herald. Thus you have violated, and impudently abused your King; you have detained him prisoner during a Treaty of Peace, for five years together led him from prison to prison you have forced him not onely to fet by his Militia, and to depose his Crown; but you have constrain'd him with violence to transferre it into other hands then mine. To conclude; you put him to death, and you have reduced my self to a strict necessity, to search my safety in my slight, and to goe and shew my misery beyond the Seas. Yet this is not all, you have done one thing which never any did before; it hath been feen sometimes that the Grandees of a Kingdom have interposed themselves against a Tyrannie, and have destroyed it; but 'twas never seen that they themselves elevated a Tyrant to the Throne as you have done: In these kind of crimes the Abettors may be said to be more criminall then he who hath received all the fruit: For if each one of you in particular had aspired to set the Crown upon his own head, you might have been more excusable, then to have snatcht it from your lawfull Prince to place it on the head of an Usurper. But you'll say to me, the Prince that bere it was not able to support it. To that I shall answer, As I have the honour to be his Son, and was his Subject, it belongeth not to me to determine what he could, or what he could not : feeing hee was my Father, I ought not to presume to be his judge, and seeing hee was my King, I ought not to be so impudent to censure, much lesse to condemn his actions; he being not obliged to render an account to any, But God alone. Believe then, the same respect I have for his memory, you ought to have had for his person, he was your King as well as mine : feeing then that Kings' are called the Fathers of the People; Their Subjects are obliged to have for them a true resentment of respect, which their very birth may infuse into them; Bliedes as Severaignes are the tue Images of God, and that the Splendor of their puissance is a team andray of his power; Subject sought to have an equal submission to their Soveraigns wil. When then you fee a Comet appear, the Sun eclipsed, the Thunder bolt fall on innocent heads, when you see Floods drownwhole Townes, by their inundation, and the Sea (passing his bounds, and swallowing whole Provinces in the bottome of the deep) devour them up; When you see an Earthquake make Kingdoms tremble, and cause horrid devastations of whole Countries; then (I say) it is permitted to the People to murmure? Do you not discern the contrary, how in these occurrences they redouble their vowes& prayers, and that they are never more obedient to God, then at fuch a time, as if God had forfaken his providence of the Universe? and when it shall so happen, that Heaven (for the punishment of your sinns) gives you a Prince under whose Reign policy and prudence are not well observed, during whose Government Forraign and Civill Warrs devour all with cruell ravages; it belongeth not then to you to reprehend and condemn your Soveraign; for, is he feeble? then you ought to fustain him

him: is he unfortunate? you ought to bemoane him: is he wicked? you ought to looke upon him as a feourge and chastisement sent from Heaven, and to waite with Patience for a remedy from that hand, which hath caused your evill. For when a Prince commands an Army, and gives Battail; if it so happen that the Souldiers perform not their devoires and duty, that his fquadrons yeild, the main body be broken, and (in the end) after he hath done even miracles in his person, he be yet constrained to quit the field, and to retreat from his Enemies? 's it not the Prince that loseth the Battail? Is it not the Prince that suffers the disgrace? Is it not the Prince that is reputed vanquisht? And that bears the losse and infamie of the day? Notwith-Handing that by his own particular actions he hath merited to be conqueror? feeing it is thus, why will not you (in fuch conjunctions) bear with the infirmities, and misfortunes of your Princes, as well as they do with yours? Or (to speak something yet nearer to the quick) who do you not repair these disorders by your own more exact obedience? The Prince alone is obvious in a Battail to the infamy, Couardifeand misfortnue of his whole Army, and you are thousands, who are obliged to strengthen the Authority and Honour of your Kingwhich he cannot support with his single valour. Believe me, if all subjeds would be loyall, no Kingdome could be miferable: and if all Princes thought more offeverity then of clemency, there would not be formany Subjects Rebells. Moreover if it were permitted to the Capritious people to take and give Crowns, when they fancied a change; I conceive there is not a Shepheard but might hope to be a King, and not a King but might be reduced to be a Shepheard; founrulyand uncertain are their floating Judgements. But (to speak the truth to you) these things ought not thus to pass: we are your Masters, and you ought not to become ours. It is not that I am ignorant that God disposeth of Scepters and Crowns, as he pleaseth, and gives them as he listeth, and bestowes them on, or takes them from whom he will, and what he alwaies doth is without all injustice's sometimes permitting that the people shall elevate to the Throne, those who never pretended to such a high degree. But when such an accident happeneth, it is usually in favour to the feextraordinary persons in whom Virtue hath imprest a Royall Chararaster for rafible, that it were almost injustice not to admit them Kings. To conclude, that which precedes, and that which followes, ought to be sufficient to justifie the effect, and it became Charles Martel, Pepin, and Charlemain puissantly to erect a Throne, which was not founded upon a line of right fuccession, yet even in this reencounter you well see the event to this present hath not authorized your design. The Engine of of this enterprize, hath been flain in battail; The Arch-Bilbop of Rhemes preserved not his life, but three daies after he had anointed the userper. But it is not seasonable (to day) to exaggerate the injustice of your proceedings; I am not willing to particularize other things, and Ishall satisfie my self with telling you, in generall, that Kings ought not to lose their Crownes, but with their lives, and that nothing can dispense Subjects from the respect, and loyallty, which they one to their Soveraigns, nor any pretense (whatsoever) Authorize Treason and Rebellion. If sacred persons may notenjoy their particular priviledge, (which is derived from none but God) they shallbe exposed, more then others, to all forts of miseries; Their guards will appear to them instead of Enemies, their Thrones will rather feem a direfull precipice then a place of honour,

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and safety; a King (of this kind) is no better then an illustrious slave, when he shall have as many Masters as Subjects. This first disorder will quickly cause a second, for, when the Nobles of a Kingdome faile in their duty to their Prince, their own Vaffalls, and Tenants will forfeit their feality to them, and then Rebellion communicated from the Grandees to the commons, and so descending from one Soul to another, an univerfall confusion swells and devoursall. Every one will command, and no person chey, and (in this resentment of Levelling equality) each person proves a stave to his own ambition, and no one, either rationally Commands himselfe or others. In effect, this is the most sad condition that a Kingdome can fall into, when there is no subjection, and where (for their punishment) the Prince hath not force to reduce the people to their obedience. For mine own part, when I consider my self to be the Sonne of a King, the successour of so many Kings, and yet, notwithstanding that Emmediately succeed not my Father; This Idea imprints in me, a strange confusion as towards you, and an extreame grief as towards my felf; for when I reflect how the same Subjects who inchained Charles in Fetters, and gave the Crown to Pobert, placed Lewis on the Throne, the malice which they bore to the Father, may it not easily fall upon the Son? and may not they fear that the Son will revenge the outrages committed against the Father? but yet (may some one say,) those who have searcht after you, and passed the Seas to present you with aScepter, they need not fear that the memory of their antient injustice will oblige you to punish them; They have reason rather to believe, that this last submission should blot out the memory of the first disservice: It is certain, in the exact Rule of justice, no Noble Action ought to paffe without his recompence: and it is really astrue; That no Crime ought to escape without his punishment. After all these reasons, what ought you not to fear? and what not to hope? you have recalled me to the Throne, tis true, but if you had not, had you not been as Criminall against Lewis, as you had been against Charles? he who gives to another, that which he hath taken from him, restores without doubt that which he hath taken, but his restoration is not a free present, & he ought not to expect thanks for an Action of that nature. No, it sufficeth if one punish not the first, without intending any recompence for the fecond. I may fay also, that you understand not rightly all my present concernments; for why? because you have not left me still in exile, because you have rendred what justly appertained to me, Because you understood that I came to re-demand mine own, not with a powerfull Army; and (being tyred with your crimes and miseries) you believe you may probably disarm the fury of Heaven, by this Act of justice; No, no, confide not in any of these pretentes, for if I had not stronger considerations then these, I should commence my Reign with the punishment of your treasons, I should send them to prison, who restrained the person of my Father, and expose them to the most cruell tortures, who contrived and caused his death, with the greatnesse of his misfortunes. Those black crimes are such which nothing can exterminate; Repentance and teares for common errours, where humane frailty may plead excuse, and not for Traitors and Rebells, nor for those, who have destroyed hrones and Scepters, inchained Kings, and created and protelled Tyrants. Think not then, that by taking an Oath of fidelity (which is your duty) that I am thereby ingaged not to do what becomes

comes a King. No, I fcorn a Throne where I should be a slave, and I had rather be obscured in Prison, as my Father was, then not to Reign as Soveraign. Those people with whom Loyalty is elective, forbear not to make their Kings abjulute, because they could have no presence of Justice to do otherwife: Judg then, if those who hold their Crowns from Heaven ought to acknowledge their subjects for their Masters, and whether they ought not rather to Punish, or Pardon, as best agreeth with their pleasure. In a word, I find it far more glorious to be a loyall Subject, then to be a King disobeyed. Prepare then your selves to render mee all that obedience which you owe me, and (without farther informing you whether you are to hope more for Clemencie or Justice) resolve your felves to an absolute submission. I know well some peevish Polititians will censure, that I act not as I ought in this conjundure, and that I should reflect on former passages with some sweetnesse, and gratifie you with Presents, to encourage you with future hopes, but I presume my Policie is more generous, and more fecure then theirs; for if I had so perswaded you, perhaps you would have beleeved me to have been more fit to wear my Fathers Irons then his Crown ; and would have more suspected me of weaknesse and disfimulation; this excessive indulgence would give you more of fear, and me leffe of honour and estimation: I (being then so far from following fuch Maximes) tell you once more, that I declaremy felf to be your King. And (without farther capitulation with you) I ascend the Throne by the steps of mine own Authority as Soveraignly, as if not recalled by you at all. Hitherto I have let you know I am notignorant how far the duty of Subjects ought to bend: But moreover I judge it fit to acquaint you to what degree Soveraign Clemencie may extend it felf; to this end; that by that refentment, you may reasonably know what to fear and what to hope. Know then, that although a Prince may justly punish Traitors, he may likewise pardon penitent offendors, principally then, when he discernes his pardon shall reclaime insolencie to obedience, and fidelity: For, seeing Kings are the Fathers of the people, they ought not alwaies to be too severe in Justice; and feeing that a Prince may afford grace and pardon to his enemies, he may without doubt shew pitty and mercie to his own Subjects: He cannot well punish them all, but must (in part) enfeeble himself; nor fluce out their blood without emptying his own veins; wherefore he ought to spare them as far as Reason and Justice can make the way passable. When then a particular accident grows up against a Prince, or State, it may suffice that the heads of some chief offendors be sacrificed to a reparation, and that by some severe examples others may be instructed with exemplarie terrour. But seeing that the number of the offendors may prove infinite, and if all should be punisht, a desolation of entire Provinces might succeed, and consequently more men be lost then 15 main Battails could devour, so that the piles of dead corps should make moun tains, and severe execution of revenge cause Rivers of blood: In such considerations(I say) it may be better tousea greater example of Clemencie, then of Justice, and hazard something, rather then to lose the lives of so many miserable soules; and there cannot be a greater Victor) then to vanquile ones own Passion in such dangerous conjunctures. Fear not then that I shall abuse my Authority, since if I should punish all who have offended, I should reduce my Kingdome to a forlorne Desart:

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For who is there among you that hath not failed of his duty? Some have done mischief, others have desired it, or at least permitted it to be acted; some have affisted Robert, others have directly fought against their King; some have most perfidiously laid their hands upon their Anointed Lord, & committed a facred person into Prison; and others have (at least) forfaken him. The publique good is the pretext of all things, but Rebellion alone is the Mother of that horrid Monster. The Nobles agitated (as they did) for their own interest, and the people by their madnesse, and unadvisednesse, seconded their fury, and put in execution the intentions of the Paricides: Your Wives and your Children are not exempt from these crimes, seeing (without doubt)they made vowes for their Parents offending, and prayers against their Prince. Whereas then I cannot punish you all, but that I must utterly exterterminate you; it resteth at my choice, whether I would become a King without Subjects, or to pardon you out of pure grace and bounty, and not by Obligation. It may be that during your lives you may repent you of your ancient crimes, and become as faithful as you have been disobedient. But (perhaps you will tell mee) as to our selves, we have repented formerly before wee fent to you to come, and receive the Scepter which belongs to you. Tistrue, it may bee as you have faid, and that I have confidered your Addresses to mee were to make reparation of what formerly passed, and that with those hands you would advance to the Throne his Son whose Father you had barbarously removed. But (after all) whosever can abandon the path of Virtue to make choice of that of Vice, can again embrace that occasion if presented. Wherefore you owe greater obligation to me then I can confidence to you; for had I not resolved to shew Grace and Pardon, the great number of Nobles which the King of England, my Unckle, hath prefented to me to attend my person, had not come without Souldiers; each one of these who incircle me have Troopes at their command; and I would not have received my Fathers Crown but in the head of a victorious Army, in the midst of a Field covered with dead, and dying men, bedewed with the blood of ten thousand Rebels; I would have been the Conqueror of my Kingdome, and not have mounted unto the Throne supported by the same hands who snatcht it from my Fathers head. But I call to mind I am your King, as you are also my Subjects, and in this relation I can love you yet, as guilty as you are; I can have pitty for your errors, and kindnesse for your obtlinacie; and I will not put my self into a condition of sadnesse after the Victory: I am then come to you without an Army, to receive what is mine. This Action (without doubt) is hardy, bold, and wel deserveth glory; and is funciently obliging to demerit your acknowledgement in all degrees of fidelity. Before that you were criminous, the Divine and humane right conjured you not to for fake your Prince but this day a new obligation chaineth you to more strict obedience. It is not enough alone to be faithfull, so to satisfie your duties but it is your part to blot out the memory of what is past, and to justifie what is present; you ought not to look on me meerly as your King, but as a King of your own choice, as a King who hath pardoned you, as a King who confideth in you, who now is commending his person into your hands, and commits the very care of his life to your protection, next to Heaven: Study then to gratifie such pressing endearments, and provoke

provoke not the wrath of Heaven upon your heads by new Rebellions. Those who have examined your bypast actions, approve not (doubtlesse) that resolution that I have taken to return into France as I have done; for (they will tell me) what confidence can you have in those who have had no regard to their lawfull Soveraign? They pretend much to desire your presence, but their seares exceed their defires: And it is rather to secure your person, then to advance your Sceptersthat though you are this day recalled, yet as long as your youth continued, they suffered you to live in exile, and obeyd Roberts but he being dead (at present) and they seeing that you were in a condition to obtain by force that which they now offer, they seeme to repent, not so much regarding your losse, as themselves. Behold the reasons which have here contested with my resolution, which (feeing they are not without some rationall ground) I have not defisted to perswade my selfe, and in that double choice, whether to make a War with you, or confide in you, I have chose the latter as more glorious, and I love rather to hazard my person then the destruction of all my Ringdomes. Those who taught me the art to Reign, have well foreseen the Exigencies to which I am now reduced, and therefore without doubt they took so much care to advise me what I ought to doe in justice, and what I might be allowed to do in Clemency; These two Vertues appear as contraries, but are not; they accord easily in the heart of a Prince. They mutually give place each one to the other in the Empire of his Soul, according to the divers occasions which are presented, for he ought alwaies to abound in Clemency, and he ought not likewise to be ever too severe with the strict measure of justice. Mercy and justice are two excellent Virtues, but prudence ought to imploy them both: And the Princes fole will, cught to be the onely rule to guide them. Having then conjured you to an equal confidence in me, as I have in you, let an Act of oblivion pass, and let us remember no more former crimes, unlege it be to prevent relapses. Let us not look on the Tombe of Charles, but meerly to bedew it with the teares of tender repentance: Not to make it an Altar whereupon to facrifice his Enemies; let us Raze to the ground those horrid Cells which served for his imprisonment, thereby (if possible) to destroy the memory, and not to leave a mark or point to posterity of those black crimes; let us ascend the Throne with as much splendor as if it had never been prophaned, and let us Reigne (if possible) with more honour and tranquillity then the late King my Soveraign did. But do not think I shall be able to effect it without the aid and succours of my Subjects; deceive not your selves, the valour and prudence of the Prince are not sufficient of themselves to make a Kingdome happy: The Subjects ought to contribute their proportions. The Nobles are to offer their loyall obedience, and the people to follow their good example, and both degrees ought to be united in virtue: for otherwise he who giveth Victory and Masters Fortune, will approve the virtue of the Prince in punishing the vice of the Subjects. Those who are valiant, do not alwaies gain the Battail; and those who are wife, are not allwaies for unate: However let us place our selves in such a capacity, that we may be successfull, though we cannot merit it. See here what your Prince hath faid unto you, who in Liew of puvilling you, hath pardoned you; instead of fighting with you, prepares to defend you; instead of being your Enemie, becomes your Conservator, and who by

his own birth and your choice, is now your Lord, your Master, and your King. These two qualities permit me not to Capitulate farther with you: It sufficeth that I onely adde this, That I admit you to hope for clemency, whilest I Reigne, as I wish you to fear allwaies my justice, and beware that you put not your selves in a condition to make triall of the second, or of-losing the former.

The Censure on LEW1S the Fourth.

Doubt not but many will censure that in this discourse I have confounded two great Virtues, and that I have mistaken generosity for prudence. Others will conclude this Astion of our LEW 1 s the fourth, as savouring more of the fiercenesse and impetuosity of youth, then of the Sage and orderly conduct of a skillfull polititian. And they may feem to speak truly (if their examination of the jassages be onely superficiall and slight) and the Objection appear equitable; And then (confequently) that I could not handsomly range this illustrious Prince amongst those who have exactly followed the Precepts and Rules of true policy, which is the Mistriss that guideth Royall affairs with least danger. What State-prudence (will some Polititian object) counselled this young Monarch to speak to his Subjects so high, when he was so lows and having scarse got well on horseback, thus to salute his Subjects, who had their Arms in their hands? Rebels, Subjects, who had lately tumbled his Father from the Throne; who had torne the Crown from off his facred head, changed his Scepter into Chaines, and his Palace into a Prison? might not this bold entrance to the I brone have rather provoked them to desperation then obedience? and raised a new tempest which could not be appealed, without much difficulty? might not this noise have served to awaken them to fresh jealousies and feares, which their own prudence should have taught them? Certainly this objection (at first view) seemes invincible, that Lewis did not appear so discreet and judicious as his condition required: And that I was little less, who prefumed to ranke andreckon this Frince amongst those, who had exactly learned the Art of Reigning over a Kingdome. Notwithstanding, he failed not in his Kingly craft, and (if my reason deceive me not) I am not guily of any mistake in this decision; for whosoever shall examine this great Action from the bottome, and weigh the Arguments maturely, will be convinced of this opinion, and neither condemn my judgment, nor the Resolution of Lewis in this eminent Astion. The Counsells of Prudence prove different according to several conjunctures of occasions, and ought to change their countenances according to the present diversities, and important alterations of affairs. And, as hardy and bold resolutions are not alwaies seasonable, so neither are timorous and fearfull proceedings ever wife and safe; That Polititian who trembles, and is not confidentswho dares do nothing generoully and stoutly for fear he may prove too rash & inconsiderate, Shall be seldome fortunate; he is too speculative a Contemplator, and proves rarely quick & active. And whiles he amuseth himself with curious considerations whether he should, or should not undertake the enterprize, whether he bould speak or be silent, be an industrious after, or a dull flegmatique Spectator; The opportunity (by this time) may be well luft the Starrs change their scituations, Aspects alter, and so the fatal moment whereon depended the good or ill successe of a grand design slip clean away without advantage. That Philosopher (whom some censured as over-wise) found that his tedious doating on too much consideration brought forth no fruit, but folly; and that his most subtile conclusions,

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were no better then fancies and dreams of one newly awaked out of sleep. The Augurs telling an old Captain that the Pullets would not eat; be quickly difcern'd the mystery, and answered, If they would not eat except they drank, they [bould have their fill, and so caus' d them to be flung into the Sea ; at which summons he gave battail to his Enemies & gain'd the day. An old Souldier told his General, the Enemies were twenty times more then they; but he replied gallantly; And for how many dost then account me ? Another told his Generall that the Enemie darted Arrowes like showres of Haile; he replyed instantly, tis so much the better for us, we shall fight against empty quivers, and but shadowes of men. The Policy of high borne Heroes, and low hearted Peafants is not the same. The Mariners disputein one fashion aboard their Ships, and the Commanders and Souldiers after another in their Trenches. And as these persons are very distinct, and different in their qualities, so are they in their Counsels, and Agitations. Those who walk on dangerous Precipices, ought to march boldly, if they intend to paffe securely. And in those Attempts, he who staies to measure the depth of perill in his way, either will prove so fearfull as not to adventure; or else will be in great danger of a ruinou fall. To judge then of the Action of Lewis the fourth, a man ought to consider what this Prince preponderated, how his Fathers gentlenesse and civility was his ruin: That he spoke to the same Rebels who had ravisht his Fathers Crown from his head, and depriv'd his person of his liberty: And that by the same capricious humour they recall'd the Son who had destroy'd the Father's and lest that might ranckle and swell again, and so infect and destroy the Sonne as it had the Father, it concern'd him then to let them know, that he came now to inherit his Fathers Kingdom, and not his infirmities: That though first impressions may exchange, or obliterate ill humours, yet it is with great hazard and difficulty. Wherefore it was more important to his purpose to strike deeper at the rootat first, to gain better advantages. If Lewis his feet had been seen to tremble when he was to a scend the throne, he must then have discovered a capacity to fall again. If he had received the crown with a dull and phlegmatick deportment, he had been rather made a King by his Lords and Masters then his Subjects; and he would have unfolded to his People the passion of comardly fear, rather then have procured due regard from them. We may conclude then , that this Prince was wife, in being fout and gallant in this occasion; that his Policie was not indiscreet, and (coping with Souldiers, and men of Armes and Valour) his discourse was not improper, as containing nothing that might give the shock to Soveraign prudence; but rather on the contrary what well became the Grandeur, and Majefly of a King. Yet perhaps some will say unto me, such harsh and rigorous proceedings have not alwayes had the best successe; if Calarhad well observed the predictions of his death, if he had better regarded his words, who answered him. That the Ides of March could not passe, and were not yet come : If he had read the Note presented to him as he entered into the Senate, it is to be presumed he had not been stabbed. If the Duke of Guise instead of an haugty reply to what he found under his Napkin, had speedily taken post, and sied from Blois, he had not satisfied the States Generall with his own Ruine, nor figned his death at Cayere with his own blood. All this is true, I must needs confess: But suppose it so happens once, it is not necessary that it prove so alwayes: And it is more perillous to be stupidly silent, then to discourse heroickly, for such reasons chiefly which I formerly mentioned. He declared his courages and his constancie: And Lewis did nothing in this conjuncture but what well became a truly noble, and wife Prince. Nor did this glorious action rellish of any thing but what befeemed an Illustrious Hero, and a prudent Politician:

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O, that King's would more observantly regard the insusions and notions of their Tutelarie Angels, who guard their Kingdomes, and not incline, nor listen to Parasites and Flatterers, who divert their good dispositions by the insinuations of persidious, and pernitious Counsels. This truth found a great example in the person of MATHIAS CORVIN, that famous King of Hungarie, whose name was Illustrious through all the earth, inso much that he ascended to such a height, that his renown cannot but be derived to posterity with much honour and glory. The Venetians were formerly in league with the Turks against the Hungarians: they aided them to the ruin of that Kingdom, and reduced that Country almost to a desolation. And having been the cause of the death of two of their Kings, of which the grand Hunni Addes, Father of MATHIAS was the last; yet notwithstanding (seeing themselves afterwards all in stames by the Turks their Allies, and ready to be consumed by a bloody war): They sent Ambassadors to Hungary, to implore succours from this samous MATHIAS CORVIN, who after he had afforced them an honourable Audience, answered them speedily after this sort.



MATHIAS CORVIN

To the Ambassadors of the Republick of VENICE.



F the Habits you wear, and the Language you speak, did not convince me that you were Venerians, I could hardly believe that you were Ambassadors sent from that Country. And if the Robes I carry, and my Accents did not clearly assure you that I am King of Hungary, I believe you would take me for some other; and that all that you have discoursed

had not been addrest to me: For what pretence can you have to dream of the effect of your defire, and expectation, after so great an affront and injury, as we have received from you? And if ye had no just cause to hope (as without doubt, ye had not) why hath your Senate fent you on an Embaffy fo unprofitable? Truly the great reputation which your prudent conduct of Affairs hath gained you, seemes strongly founded: And the flourishing estate of your Illustrious Republick, which hath been known through so many Ages to have preferved her glory, and grandeur, is an undoubted argument of your great abilities in such weighty matters. Notwithstanding I am obliged to let you know (on this occasion) that though you feem to abound in judgement, yet you feem to bee but of a short and failing memory. Confider (I fay) former passages, and the request you make this day : Is it possible that you should have intirely lost the remembrance of that miserable estate out of which this Kingdome is hardly as yet recovered? and that ignoble denial which your Republique made Wadiflam my Predecessor? The great Storm and Tempest which was raised at Constantinople, and designed to fall on Hungarie, was taken notice of, and talked of in all Countries; and the formidable



Mathias Corvin King of Hungary

dable power of the Turks, as a swelling Inundation, threatned to o verflow, and drown whole Provinces. The Turk armed Africa, a great part of Afia, and of Europe against us, and it appeared very probable that we should have been swallowed up under the numbers of those great Forces, so prodigious, and unequall to ours. Hungary having been as the Buckler to all Christendome, and an impregnable wall, which was continually battered, and dashed against, by the savage Waves of this unruly Torrent: This infatiable Usurper swore solemnly to rend this Buckler into shivers, and to levell this Rampart to the ground, which had ever resisted the violence of his Inundati-In this mischievous conjuncture, the young, and valiant Uladiflam let flip no advantage that might fortifie and strengthen his party to preserve them from perishing and ruine. And as he knew how, that besides the Interest in generall, of all the Christians in this publick affair, you had particular cause in respect of Friuli, which you were Lords of in the Main Continent, and the Isles which you posfessed in the Archipetagus, he made and raised his Forces to greater strength and magnitude, to oblige you the rather to make a League with him, both Offensive, and Defensive against this irreconcileable Enemy. To this purpose he dispatched his Ambassadors to you to Venice, and by them represented to the Senate, what that Republique owed to the honour and name of Christians, and put them in mind of the ancient Alliance and Amitie betwixt the Crown of Hungary and that State. The Pope (as a common Father to the (briftians) joyned his importunities with our requelts, and used all endeavours to perswade you to a thing in which you had (certainly) no lesse interest then we our selves: And to the undertaking of which, Virtue, and Equitie feemed naturally to oblige, and enjoyn affistance. Notwithstanding the force of all perswasions, and endeavours, we prevailed not, but advised, and treated in vain, and you had the hard heartednesse neither to listen to our Counsels, nor regard our Remonstrances, and so refused absolutely to aid us with those Succors, or Auxiliaries we defired, as necessary, and with which we had so much reason to hope to be supplyed. The excuse which you alleaged was, That it was neither fair, nor just to declare against a Prince who had not injur'd you; and that you were not obliged to that. Nay, your cruell policy was not contained in these termes and bounds, a bare Neutrality was not sufficient for you to secure your own safeties. Nor did it suffice you to be meer spectators of our miseries, but you were willing to augment them. If so be that you had neither declared for the one nor the other, probably your Forces might have given at least a suspition to the Turk, and possibly caused his Armies to have marched more flowly, in a designe of such high importance. But instead of an act of fuch a nature, you made an infamous and horrid Alliance at that time, and utterly to remove away all suspitions and jealousies, that he might not dread your Forces, you let him fee your fears, you fignified to him, that we were not in hopes of affistance of any perfon. In brief, you (as much as in you lay) exposed us to their rage and fury, and to the eminent perill of all misfortunes, or (to speak freely) not onely Hungary, but all Christendome, and your very selves alfo. Now to what a height of Miseries your forsaking us hath brought us, and what sad events this unfortunate Warre hath produced,

which we alone were forced to encounter, You (Venetians) well knew, and all the earth is full of the reports of our miferes, though we (of all others) more sensibly find, and feel the sad effects; since the wounds which we received, yet bleed a fresh, and time hath not had dayes and years enough to obliterate the memory, nor to obumbrate and deface the representation and gastly fight of those evill, and mischievous Conjunctures: It so happened then with forces so unequall, and through the inconsiderate Counsels of persidious slatterers, that the brave, yet unfortunate Uladi flaus lost two Battailes on the other side of the River Danubius, where anin finite number of Souldies and persons of great Condition were slain, or made slaves in the battail which was lost, in the plaines of Varne, and after that in the Battail of Cofobe, in the Country of the Trebelliens. It fell out also that Valiant Vadalislaus lost his life fighting magnanimously: And these two Plaines were covered with the blood of Christians: At which time the whole Kingdome was filled with horror and confusion, many thousands were made poor Widdowes, which have sighed out their Prayers, and fent their cryes to Heaven against you, in regard of the losse of their dear Husbands; thousands of Orphans cry for their Fathers, and Fathers for their flain Children. And it might have fo fallen out, that all Christendome had been in hazard and danger to have been swallowed up, if the bounty and favour of God, (which much exceeded the horrour of your crime) provoked with jealousie for the defence of his own Altars, for his own Glory, and for the protection of the name of Christian had not raised up the invincible Hunniades my Soveraign King and Father. But alas, these missortunes which attended us with fuch horror and cruelty, were not alone; other sad effects and dangerous consequences succeeded in the midst of those great losses. I sustained the chiefest in mine own particular; fo that the Honour of that Scepter I bear, and that Crown I enjoy are not able to poize my griefe with equall confolation of glory and renown, Shall I tell you? or am I able to speake? or be filent on this subject? The great and invincible Hunniades hath loft his owne life by thoseglorious wounds which he received in that unhappy Warre, wherein you were ambitious spectators. He repelled the Turkes a hundred times with his Victorious sword, but at last not able longer to resist the slashes of their Symetars, he died with those fatall strokes. Victory attended him a thousand times, but at length (alas!) she forfooke her Champion. He was a long time a Rampart to Christianity, but in the end that Bulwarke was levelled as strong as it appeared. He Combated, Vanquished, and Triumphed; yet after so many Conquests he was forced to submit to fortune. He met with a good hour to ascend a Throne, but that high steppe was but a stair to descend to an humble Tombe. He made himfelf a King with his noblenesseand Valour, but he ceased to be a man by the unworthy Cowardize of those that for fook him. Hee obtained immortall honour, but (alas!) hee came not to this immortality, But at his death. To conclude, Hungary lost her King, Christianity lost her Protector, Europe lost her most glorious Jewell, and Mathias (from whom you now implore affiftance) lost his Soveraign and Father. Judge then, you Venetians (if you have not uttterly lost the memory of my great losses, and your own in humanity) whither you have any cause to hope for succour from me as

you now desire. Consider if you have not ground to believe that the blood of a Father (fuch a Father as Hunniades) be not more loud then you, and more perswasive then your eloquent Cration. Oh! if the Lawes of Nations were not inviolable betwixt Princes, who make profession of Honor and Faith; If the persons of Embassadors were not facred amidst the most barbarous and least civilized people; The impudency which you have made appear in your discourse and requests, might justly hazard your safety; your fears might cause you to tremble, and make you dispair of my Clemency, which findes much difficulty to withold from revenge. But as you are Embassadors, you are in a Sanctuary which covers your heads from the just rage of indignation: Yet fince Vengeance belongs to God, who knowes how and when to exercise its And that there is none but he who punisheth the (hildren for the iniquity of their Fathers to the third Generation. Seeing allso that time hath closed up that wound which you have thought to open, and that which is the end of all things, bath calmed my difpleasure, and removed the Gall of my resentment, we will not raise those appealed Waves, but letting the Tempest and the winds sleep, we will examine without Rancour or Passion former passages, and so judge better of what you now defire, viewing with a difinteressed eye the injustice of mine own reproaches, and of your unworthy Actions. It is certain (and experience of all ages doth teach and thew) That next to the immediate Power of Almighty God) this great and marvellous Frame of the Universe, knowes no other motives to fet and put all her rationall desires into action, then those three Grand Engines of Jucundum, Honestum, and Utile. And how different foever mens intentions may be, it must necessarily follow that their thoughts tend to one of these three. Seeing then from the lowest to the highest condition of men, all do operate upon one of these Principles, and that no defigne hath its originall from any other motive; feeing all degrees of men, and orders of Creatures, Rationall or Irrationall propose these as their chiefest ends, (as the Voluptuous defigne their pleasure, the ambitious their glory, the Covetous their treasure) Let us see by which of these three motives your mercilesle Republique could be obliged to such unnaturall proceedings towards us, and to be fofull of inhumanity (in fo great a danger) to refuse us. For the first What appearance was there, that a people, Friends to Europe, a people civilized, and professing Christianity, could be so barbarous as to take pleasure in the desolation of our Provinces, and the ruine of our Towns? in the prophaning of our Temples? the defeates of our Armies? and the murthering of our Souldiers? What? was prey and Pillage, Fire and fword, teares and blood, wounds and death, pleasant Objects for your diversions? Could you take delight in ugly and extravagant pleasure? in things capable to strike horror and pitty in the most insensible Soules? the Mountaines of men flaine, and the Earth covered with wounded bodies, old men pulled by their beards and hair, and stabbed before their Children, Infants snatcht from their mothers pappes, and dashed against the walles, and mothers dragged by the hair, and so piercing the Heavens with their hideous cryes; Virgins miserably exposed to the infolency of the Janizaries, and the bloud of grand and brave Kings powred out to the last drop, The howses of God dishoneured, his Priests murthered, his

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Altars defaced, and all those sacred things in the hands of the prophane and facrilegious Turks? Could all this, and fuch like objects, yeeld you any pleasure, and content? and could you look on all this misery, not onely with a dry eye, but with an eye ambitious of such crueltie? as pleased with such horrid objects, and deigning such miseries no compassion? Do not men speak of Nero as a Monster of Nature, and shame of Mankinde, who could looke on Rome on Fire without regret and grief? You have feen a Kingdom on Fire without the least touch of Compassion. And shall not you passe under the censure of Monsters, as not worthy to behold the light, and fit to lose that bleffing with as much grief as ignominy? Judge your felves, did ever Christians seetheir fellow Christians peristand moulder into crums under the Infidels Swords and Simeters, and become fo perfectly inhumane, as to rejoyce at their desolation? Did the Italians when they stormed the walls of the Lestrigoes, and the Cannibals, and (as it were) eat those Men-caters (or at least saw them torne, and rent in pieces) find any content in such objects of misery which they were forced to make? No, no, as barbarous as you have been, and as extreamly rigorous as we judge you, we shall not beleeve that men, that Venezians, that Christians could laugh at our Tears, bath themselves in our blood, and rejoice at our difgrace. Those that are uncapable of committing such grand offences, cannot but think they may receive and from others, and their innocency makes them judge of others by themselves; nothing being able to incline their judgements contrary to those naturall inclinations upon which they are founded; we cannot beleeve then that it was jucundum quid, a delectable object which you proposed in refusing your affistance, and so exposing us to the bart arous Mahometans; it being farre from all appearance that you should conceive a thought, or finde any pleasantnesse in things so contrary to humanity, and directly opposite to all that may pretend to give any joyfull content or pleasant satisfaction. Seeing then, that Jucundum quid was not the object that united you, let us examine if it were hon stum, honourable for you to act as you did; and if it were by this motive, that you would expose us as a prey to the rage of the Turks, and that you thrust all Hungary, and all Christendom on such a precipice of danger; and (if I may so say) within two singers bredth of an univerfall ruin. Those who have most seriously examined the consistance of the trueglory of Princes, having discussed the question so many severall waies, and well observed the biasses of different interests, have all agreed in this, that it consists principally in this Maxime, To protect the more feeble, and to resist the more puissant. Yeait is in this alone, wherein consists true generositie. It is in this disinterested virtue, wherein Princes do finde their greatest splendor. It is this unspotted reputation which they ought to endeavour all their lite. A beam of true honour, and which they ought to prefer above that of their Scepter and Crown. In effect, all their other actions (how glorious and beautifull soever they appear in the eyes of the world) may meet with an ill construction, and without this receive an inglorious interpretation. Conquerers may be deemed to be ambitious, Peacemakers may be censured to be timid, severe Princes passe for cruell, Clement may be suspected to be feeble, Liberal accused to be prodigalls, Provident accounted covetous, Valiant stilled rash, and the Prudent Lazie,

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The Majesty of Princes may be censured Pride, their Facility Basenesse: If they are too grave, the people will not love them: If too familiar, their Subjects scorn them; If gay and glorious, they are reviled as incompassionate; if Melancholy, then nothing will oblige them; If Prudent, then too full of craft and subtilty; If Frank and Ingenious, then imprudent and indifcreet. In a word, all their thoughts, words, and actions are subject to receive an evill interpretation from the envie and malice of men. There is nothing then but the protection of the feeble (when it is offered) being free, and without private interest, which hath no cause for an Apologie: And there is nothing more truly noble then this generous resistance, which (oppoling over-powerfull enemies) is rewarded with generall approbation: And in a defign of this nature there needs no Reasons or Manifestoes to authorize the Armies of such illustrious Captaines. The thing speaks it self, each oppressed soul implores aid from heaven upon Auxiliary Troops. And their high enterprises are not condemned of any person, no not of their very enemies. The publick vogue of the people gives to such generous Princes the glorious titles of the Defenders of their Liberties, the Protectors of their Innocencie, the Supporters of toltering Thrones, the Restorers of Estates, and the Scourge of Tyrants. Posterity preserves their names, and reverences their memories, as things which virtue hath consecrated, and never ought to perish: The Marble is polisht, and engraved to eternize their glory; Bookes and Histories (of all Nations) speak of them in their own Languages; Fathers tell their Children, and Children prattle, and after talk to their Posterity: And so by this immortall and glorious Tradition, the honour and reputation of virtuous Princes passeth from Age to Age, to eternize their Fame over all the World. And it ever any Senate found favourable opportunity, that of yours might have seasonably afforded us protection which we so earnestly demanded, and you so cruelly refused: We were weak, our Enemies were puissant; they were the Invaders, we the Defenders of our Rights 5 they would have usurped our Kingdome, we strove to defend our Country; they had no right in their pretensions, and we no injustice in our Defence: What shall I fay more? They were Turks, and wee Christians; they were ancient and naturall Enemies, we your Friends, Allies, and Brothers: And above all (as I said before) they were strong and puissant, we weake and feeble; which argument was sufficient to have obtained your Protection, if you had been truly Noble, and had aspired to true glory. And what honour could you ever have obtained so great as that? to have opposed and suppressed vigorously this torrent, and to have extinguished the violence of Fire and Sword, which came to ravage two Empires, and ten Kingdomes? What a glory would it have been to you to have arrested their Force, and to have got Victories from that Monster who overthrew the Throne of Constantine the great, and extinguished the Race of the noble Paleologus? What Reputation had you not gained in revenging new Rome, and the Infolencies of these Barbars? and what estimation had you not deserved in the support of our weak condition against so great an Enemy? To oppose those that doe evill and to defend those which suffer, is a Lesson which Nature it self inspires, and is taught without a Tutor. And (if Passions blind us not, nor disorder Natures conduct) It is

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in possible to those who are nobly born, not to range themselves on the meaker lide, and not to oppose the unsuft Violence of oppressors. A naturall instinct presseth us, compassion forceth us, reason leadeth us, and (as we apprehend in our selves) such an Action of incompassion would seeme very rude. And humanity directeth us, that we could not endure that ignoblenessein an other. Certainly they are not men, but cold statues, and fuch as the frozen hearted Venetians, who stand still in such a Rencounter without motion and action: They deserve not the names of men, who can be insensible in such conjunctures; and he seemes not a rationall foul, nor scarce a meer Animal, but a senselesse stone, who can refuse succour to the oppressed when they implore, and are in necessity. If it be a shame to refuse assistance when men are implored, and not to oppose the injustice of them who oppresse; how much more shamefull is it then, not onely to see the feeble perish, not onely to deny them fuccours, not onely to relift their violence, who devour them, but rather to strengthen the oppressours, and (cowardly) to iovne themselves to them who were too strong alone? Oh (Venetians) there hath been too much of basenesse and inhumanity in these ignoble proceedings: and this action hath been very black and fowle, relishing of as little honour and honesty as delight and pleasure, unworthy to have engaged you in such an enterprize; which being utterly incapable to render you any glory, will eternally cover you with the Clouds of Repreach and infamie. For if you were our Enemies, why did you not publiquely declare and tell us, as the Turks did & and if you were our Friends, why did you joyn with the Barbars, and so aide them to ruine us? No, No, true honour was not the object of so base and black an Action, nor could true content or fatisfaction be enjoyed in an enterprize so bloudy and cruell. Seeing then that your undertakings were neither founded on that which may be rightly judged Jucundum or Honestum, let us see if utile, profit, and avarice hath obliged you to a cowardly acquitting of your Allies. When that Maxime proves true which is ever false: That Kings, Soveraign Princes and Republicks, ought not absolutely to consider any thing but the repose of their own estates, and their particular utility: When (I say) naturall equity, civill fociety, the Alliances of crowns, the Conformity of Religions, Common interest, Glory and Honor, shall be valued as things indifferent: Yet you shall not finde really the utile you may pretend to in this unworthy Action, wherein you appeared. Is there any one who knowes the principles of Policy, and of that art which teacheth Kinges to raigne? and understands not, that a powerfull neighbour is ever terrible? That it is very advantagious, that Seas and Mountaines separate their estates from ours; To that end, That both the one and the other may be as bounds to relift their avarice and ambition? and if a Prince lesse powerfull then he, both in respect of the numbers of his Subjects, and in the extent of his Dominions, lye in the way as a guard to our Frontires, and be scituate in the midft of two Potentates as an eternall obstacle to the unjust "surpation both of the one and the other; is there not a clearer possibility of security? Were it not much better for the Republique of Venice, that the Thrones of the Kings of Hungary shall not be toucht or shaken, and that the Valour of those Princes shall be able to protect the Country: Then to see those Dominions invironed with Janizaries, and the Colours of

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Mahomets Crescents Flourishing amidst the standards of Saint Marke? Know you not that their very neighbourhood hath begot an eternal! jealousie? And that jealousie of a Rivall (so prevalent and too potent for us may possesse us with fears? Do you not consider how that fuch an irreconcileable Enemie will never want pretexts to demand? And that successe will dayly feed new expectation; Finding fortune so favourable, our resistance so weak, and our losse so infinite? Will fuch accesses tempt a soul more moderate then such a one as lodgeth in a M. honerons breaft? Do you not discern that the formidable power of the Ottomans is like unto a contagious disease, which is best prevented or healed at a distance? Can you Venetians believe that the Turks should prove better neighbours then the Christians? And that the Policy of the Alcoran is more perswasive then the Moralls of the Gospell? Have you not experienced that antient Friends make more firm Amity then new? And how that the body politique is like the body naturall, in which every mutation proves dangerous? Do you not finde that the ambition of Conquerors is like the Waves of the Vast Ocean, which is neither willingly limited with Bancks nor Bottome? And that the ambition of Mahomes the second runns as a devouring Fire, which hastens to consume so many Empires, and so many Kingdomes? What fecurity then can you have in the amity of a Prince of so haughty an humor? And what great advantage can you gain by this new Alliance, to ingage you to fuch Obligations? Can you hope that this proud Tarke can admit you to share in his Conquests? Can you pretend to expect a proportion in the spoiles of Hungary? Do you not know that the Warres of Nations Civilized, are waged chiefly for the obtaining of Glory and true Renown? And how the Warrs of Barbarous Nations are raised in a design of Pillage and Plunder? As the fole marke of their enterprizes, and object of their Armies, who in their Conquests regard not the auxiliaries of their Victory? and those whose ambition is insatiable, finde all too little to fatisfie themselves, having no thoughts of contenting others? Who knowes not that avarice as well as ambition, and Crueltys arries on the Turkes with a predominant inclination? that that Nation never acts by any other Principle? And who can be ignorant, but that your new Allies will (at length) leave you in the lurch? On the the other side, In the Condition wherein Hungary and Christendom then were, might not Mahome: the second easily discern that you joyned your forces unto him out of a particular interest; And therein rather fought your own fafety then his glory? That you left us, to preserve your selves? And that you begged his amity, to avoid his wrath? that base feares made your progresse, and not true Friendship or love? That (in truth, and purely) you onely regarded your owne advantage, and therefore made a shamefull alliance, with one, whom you as much hated as feared? What Obligation can be stronge in a matter of this nature? and what reason have you to hope for any thing under the pretence of fuch a favour? Moreover, when he shall observe how cruelly you have for saken (and that in extremity) your antient Allies, your neighbours, and your brethren, connected to you by the Ligaments of the same Religion, Lawes and Manners, what affurance can you fancy that Mahomet shall have in your promiles, having seen you violate such facred obligations? And what

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credit shall he give unto your words, having known you so notorioully to forfeit your Faith? We may adde yet, if that which ratifieth treaties, renders alliances affured, and peace durable, is, That, treaties, Alliances, and Peaces, are equally advantagious to Kings, Soveraigns, Princes or Republicks, Who make them because that equality is neceffary, and reciprocall advantages oblige the one and the other to an exact observation of the Articles concluded betwixt them; What proportion then of equality can there be between the Republick of Venice and the Vast Empire of Turkie? What advantage can the Turks receive from your feeble Troops, who is a Conqueror attended with fo many Millions of Souldiers? what profit think you to gain from him who swallowes Scepters and Crownes as little morfells? Who depopulates more Kingdomes and Empires then you have Townes in your Dominions? Whose formidable Armies cover the largest Campanies, and traverfing the mighty Plaines, drink up whole Rivers where they are encamped? Is not this your alliance as the oblation of a shallow Brook to the Ocean, when you joyne your slender Troopes to his mighty Armies? and is not this a fignall error, to dream that your handfull of Forces should be considerable amongst such infinite numbers? Can you believe that Mahomet should religiously observe Articles of confederation wherein he could finde neither the increase of his profit or glory? To adde nothing else from the dangerous example that you (Venetians) have given him; what alliances may not the Turke violate without all scruple? Is it possible that the history of the Turks is foutterly a stranger to you, that you know not how that impious and barbarous Nation make publick profession of infidelity, and how they frame to themselves such maxims, that, it is lawfull for them to break all Articles of what condition foever? to recede from any Oaths, and to violate Faith and all ingagements? and to jeere at the Lawes and rights of Nations? Have you never heard them call the Christians, Jaours, that is, Doggs? and from that injury raise an argument, and consequently conclude that they are not obliged to keeep their words with doggs? Do they not barbaroufly breake Faith and promises with those of their own Nation, as well as with their Enemies? How perfidious was Baiazet, who, after the death of his Father, fent to feek for soloman his elder Brother, upon pretence of a defire to have him Crowned; And having abused the facility of that Prince, caused him inhumanely to be strangled, and so introduced a barbarous example into the Family of the Ottomans, which hath been but too often imitated fince that horrid precedent? Orchan the second. Emperour of the Turkes, feigned an argreement with some Princes of Asia, thereby more easily to delude some others; And after he had devoured his first Contractors, with lesse difficulty destroyed the others according to the Stratagems of his own devices. never read (in the Roman History) the remarkable Embleme of the bundle of arrowes? which bound up together were not eafily broken, but taken afunder, each fingle arrow was frangible by the weakest arme? Have you been so little conversant in the terrestriall Globe, that ye knew not your felves heretofore too near neighbours to that Prince on the Coast of the Archipelagus; But that you must likewise desire to border upon Friult and Dalmatia? the Fountaines and the Rivers which divide themselves into lesser streames, are not much conaderable.

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siderable: But united into one great body, they compose and make up an Ocean which may terrifie the boldest adventurers. You may conclude, that if Christian Princes and Republiques held a Faithfull Correspondency and firme Union, both the one and the other might without doubt reffft the Turkish Power, and stop the progresse of his dangerous Conquests, with great facility: But when we see the Christians themselves divided, this potent Enemy may with more ease destroy them all, singling out each Kingdome or Republick apart. Oh, you Venetians, none of these just considerations have prevailed to perswade you, being transported with the Violence of particular Interests. The present condition of affaires was more Prevalent with you then to admit a Pravision of future dangers: and your Cacity was fo great, that you have desperately cast your selves into an Abysse; thinking thereby to avoide a precipice. Observe then the justice of God upon the heads of the offenders. They (on the grounds of fallehood & imprudence) Contriving vainly to preferve sthemselves from one perill, have cast themselves headlong into another; Their impious craft feducing them to deceive others, deluded themselves. Their subtile policy seemed to teach them perfectly the art of Government, when the events discover d'the errors of their maximes. It is true then (as the Scripture witnesseth) that Ged insatuateth the micked in their own designes, and disperseth them as a Cloud, and causeth them to Vanish as smoake. By all that I have said, it appears thereby, that Jucundum, Honesbum, and Utile, were not the arguments which perswaded you to this Savage action. I may rightly conclude then, that by a meer inclination to an evill end, you were willing to destroy us, and have found a Malignant rejoycing in our forrowes without the Knowledge of that wherein confifts true joy. Why was this evill undertaken by you; Unlesse you had been borne to do no good? But seeing this excuse is not sufficient for rational men, who act not as beasts, but according to reason and election of what they voluntarily choose, equally inclined to good or evill, vice, or Virtue: Are not we in a just expectation of a Vicissitude, and Change; that Vindicative Justice may recompence all your evills? We well understand that Martiall Lawes admit Letters of Reprizallis the most rigorous of the moralists, allow us to refift Invaders, to defend us from their Violence, and to repell their Forces; And if the Law of God ordained an eye for an eye, and life for life in the punishment of Crimes, ought not we imitate your felves, feeing the day is changed, and affaires have a better presence? May not we now go and contract an alliance with Mahomet the fecond, and refuse to aid you, who denyed succours first to us? Might not we joyn our Forces with his, giving him assistance with our Counfells and Souldiers, whereby we might impower him to ravage your Frontiers, defeat your Armies, storme your strongest Townes, inflave your Generalls, chase you not onely from the main Continent, but even from all the Isles you hold in the Archipelagus? This favourable Conjuncture may afford us an obligation to mix our Colours with his enfignes, and so magnanimously march against that superbe Town, and those aspiring Ramparts which obumbrate the Adriatique Sea, and command imperially all the adjacent shores. Yes (without doubt) we are obliged: and as far as humane reason can reach to judge, in the fresh memory of your greater cruelty, you me-

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rit to be destroyed, and we revenged, and Venice deserves to be inflaved and chastised severely, as a spectacle to all ages to come, to teach all Republicks not to refuse, so barbarously, and cowardly, their affistance to their ancient Allies. Wee might listen now to these sweet temptations, & chiefly to that to which the greatest souls are most inclin'd, Haughty and pleasant Revenge. The occasion is now favourable: And Fortune feems to answer us with plenary fatisfaction: You have refused your succours, we may then justly deny ours: You have made Alliance with our Enemy, we may (as justly) doe the like with yours: You joyned your Troops with his, we may as equally joyn our Armies: You aided him to our defeat, wee can aid him to your utter ruin: You thought you could destroy our Kingdome, we are affured we could make your Republick a defolation: You have been the cause of the sad death of two of our Kings, and we are able (if we please) to sacrifice upon their Tombes your Duke and Senators: You aided our Enemie to rout our Armies on the Plains of Varney and cofola, we are able to demolish your high Walls, to burn your fair City, and to force you to flye into the same Rocks and Caves where your Ancestors did hide themselves to lie more secure from the violence of the Hunnes: Yes (Venerians) we can do this, nay in some fort we ought; but God is pleased to moderate our wills. That which you have done heretofore strikes us with such hortor, that we cannot imitate you: If you can forget that we are men, yet we cannot forget that you are Christians. He who pleased to command us to love our enemies, cannot but approve us in pardoning our Allies, how criminous soever they have been. Seeing then (to make relation of affairs as they are) we have an opportunity of Revenge, what can be more Illustrious to the greatest spirits, then to see those who have offended them, reduced to a sharp necessity, and become humble Petitioners? This fufficeth (Venetians) and is enough to cause us to lay down our Armes, or rather to take them up, thereby to protect you against that enemy which now assaults you. We do not defire your blood to wash away your crimes, your tears shall serve to expiate. Those two great Princes which your rigour hastened to Heaven, and layd in their Tombes, will not condemne our Clemencie, who, though they have lost their Terrestriall Crowns, yet parted with them to become glorious Martyrs; an honour more precious then all earthly glory: Who, as they are in the state of Immortality, have no thoughts of Revenge: And it cannot but agree with their Celestiall Judgement to be least Vindicative in the way to Glory: They have poured out their bloud, and lost their lives for the good of Religion, and will approve (without question) that we blot out the memory of our own misfortunes, as well as your Errors, in relation to the wellfare of the same Religion. Seeing therefore these happy Saints have received that recompence which their services have purchased for them, and that they enjoy a felicity which shall never terminate, but be coaternall with the memory of those grand actions they accomplished: since they have received within the Church Triumphant those glorious Palmes which their atchievements purchased in the Church Militant; and that they more perfectly know in God (where all things are known) the Justice of that Cause they defended: That they bleffe God every moment for the wounds which they received, and the death

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they suffered for so good a cause: And seeing that all good is communicable in its own nature, and that they cannot but concurre in approbation to what we now shall doe in our resolution of so holy and generous an ambition fo fuitable to Christianity: We shall not refuse to aid you with succours, as you now doe desire, nor faile to support you in so just an enterprise. But, on the contrary, wee are ready to passe with you over the Danube, nay to march before you to destroy the Turkib Territories, and we shall dispatch one of our Heraulds to denounce a Warre against them, as soon as the Spring approacheth. We hope the iffue will be fuccesfull, however wee shall not faile of our duty, and we shall employ all our Forces, and all that depends on us to this purpose. But you must likewise for your part (all the same time) advance to Peloponesus to cause a diversion, and to amuse our enemies, being at the same instant at severall places to be attempted. See (Venetians) what our Resolutions are for the Republick of Vemice, in favour to that Senate because Christian, that is to say, to facrifice the memory of our particular injuries for the good of the generall affairs, and private losses for publick safety.

The Censure.

Hose who conclude that the greatest Victories are most glorious, resolve withall, That it is the hardest difficulty to command and conquer ones felf. And when a favourable occasion is presented of sweet revenge: That passion tempteth a moderate foul, and shaketh the affections of the best temper. And if the means of revenge be souncertain, and rare to be found, it is more incomparably difficult to refuse the occasion when it freely offer it self. It is in this rencounter when the Spaniard makes that prayer, Guarda me Dios de mi, God defend me from my self. And it is truly necessary; for if a soul be not guarded with the shield of Virtue : It must (without doubt) yeeld in such a dangerous combat. Andif any particular obstacles prove more violent: How outragious then are the passions of Princes! And those who fancy to themselves, that they can will nothing but what they ought? And when able to ast what they will, being in power, are not they most apt to destroy and ruinate those who have provoked them? To restraine then the I hunderbolt from falling on the heads of the offendors, is som ething Divine, or (at least) above crainary humane power. Execution belongs to the Hangman; but grace and pardon to the Gods. And certainly the Theorie of this science is more facile then the Practice. Princes seldome forget (in such affaires) that Justice is divided into two parts; and that part which is called Vindicative, is no whit leffe equitable then that other, because it seems lesse humane. Those who say they would punish if they were not in choler, are as rare as the Phoenix; and History (in generall) makes no mention more of the one, then the other; that is, it speaks little or nothing but of the first : For it is very difficult for the same person to be mild, and mighty; to be able to punish, and yet to pardon's to be in a capacity to revenge, and yet rather to relieve: It is very difficult, instead of destroying of an Enemy, to study, and adventure for his preservation. From all these arguments wee rightly understand how perfectly that Prince was accomplished, how great his Virtue,

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ath they how magnificent his Generofity, of whom we have spoken. Doubtless he underfood not only the Philosophy of Aristotle, and Seneca, but likewise the Morals of (priftianitie, which (without all exception) are the most excellent and surest Foundations. He well knew that the King of Kings is called the God of Vengeance, who referves that punishment (primely) to himself, as being onely capable to render it without passion, and to punish without interest. He understood that the fight of his Enemies, prostrate at his feet, was far more glorious then to fee them in their Graves; and to lock on them weeping with their eyes, then weltring in their blood. That to have a power to revenge is as equally fairsfactory as revenge it felf. Certainly with what ever eye we view this grand action, we must conclude, that it was very Gloriousahich was not as the Painters Art, who by optical delusions, change the face of things according to the diversities of severall Viewes. But on the contrary which way soever wee look, this adion was femper eadem, and most admirable: Yet if wee look into the exact rules of Policie (without any confideration to the Maxims of Religion) according to those Principles, who doubts not, but that this Prince didill. and that his Progresse herein, was more generous then prudent? He was fully facisfied hat the Turks held not for his enemies onely the Greekes, Hungarians, and Venetians; but likewife all Christians; and that he defigned a publicke ruine to them all. This moved him to a generous Confideraration, and from former unkind passages to raise and accomplish future advantages; thereby avoiding to make himselfe asad example to ruine his own Kingdomes, by endeavouring a revenge upon the Venetians. This great Prince asted as became him: In which noble work his wisedome and bounty equally proposed and obtained an immortall Commendation in the mouths of all men. There are who for that Valour operateth in the Soul, as the heat of the Sun in Plants and other Vegetables. For as the Sun exhaleth Poison from Hemlick and Aconite, and maketh who some remedies with the Virtues of other herbes's So doth Valour produce divers effects in different Soules. She makes the Lyon generous, but the Tiger craell. I conceive me may place Mahomet the second amongst the Savage Tygers both for his ferocity and rage; whose power wasted two Empires, and twenty Kingdoms, and confumed the proude injortunate City of Constantinoples with whose spoyles, was presented unto him a beautifull unparallell'd Lady: She used her choicest skill to please him, and he seemed to love and adore her. (For Tygers will love, though it last not) He treated this beauty with the variety of all delights. His courage was turned to fighes, his Valour inshanted with imbraces, which inflam'd him day and night with inextinguishable parkes of love. At last, this insolent Conqueror was vanquisht by his own slave, and was a Vasial to that lovely Greek: In the mean time his greedy Souldiers (fed with prey and Pillage) began to murmure at their Emperours stupicity, and to revile him as an inglorious Commander. This Tyger (at last) awaked withe taunts and scornes of the rude multitude, and his rage being newly incensed, ([ball I be able to speak, much leffe to believe so horrid a Fast) he tore in peeces this innocent and unfortunate beauty, caused her head to be cut off with a Symeter, whom he had adored as a Goddesse, and to whom he had offered the Vitime of his heart a hundred times, he became strangly cruel, and with his own hand stroke off the head of her who had enamoured his heart. And, notwish fanding his love Breamed between ther blood and teares. Hethen said, here (O Souldiers) bebold the subject of your discontents, made now your secrifice in my displeasure.

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MAHOMET the Graste, who was the greatest scoungety Christendoms of all the Turkishe Emperours. He Jubdued Montefia, wind Constantinople, overcame Crain, Subdued Pern Feleponesus, and Castria, tooke Otrunto, and soe in going against the Caramanian King, died. An. 14,83.



MAHOMET THE SECOND, To his JANIZARIES.



Have ever believed, that thorough all the extents of my Empire, I have none to my Subjects but Slaves and Vafialls; That I am the Soveraign Judge of the actions of all men, who live under my power: and that no person whatsoever dares to judge of me, The facred Charader, which distinguisheth Crowned heads from those of others, ought to be

inviolable in my person. It belongs not to them who are to obey, to dare to Command, nor isit for the People to intermedle with their Lords, who by all Rights may dispose of their lives as they pleases. And if Soveraign Princes be their Masters and Commanders (which is a right unquestionable) they are not (in any Case) to be their Judges. These two qualities are utterly incompatible; It is then undeniably necessary that there must be either no Th. ones, or an alsolute obedience to them, without all dispute or referves; otherwise, there will be neither Slaves nor Subjects, Triby aries nor Vassalls; This were to usurpe Soveraign authority over all Princes; to differace and dissolve the Power and splendor of Crownes, Scepiers; To admit of as many Subjets as Kings, and as many Mafters as men. Which disorder once permitted, a generall confusion must speedily and inevitably succeed. But (to speake the truth without oftentation) I beleeve few Princes have better learn't the Art of Government then my selfe. It is true, I could not alwaies obstruct you from that infolency which once broke forth, fawfily to cenfure and condemn my actions, after you had fo many thousand times extolled and commended my enterprizes, which heaped Glory on you. for my felf (I freely protest) I know no just cause for your rash temerity: For If you respect meas your lawfull Prince, and as descended from the antient Ottomans; What respects do yee not, by the bonds of nature, owe me? And if you confider me as a Conquerer, and behold me amidst my Trophies, where I am attended with so many Scepters and Crownes which I have obtained with fo much illustrious fortitude and Gallantry; what veneration ought you not to pay me? Or if you look upon me as meerly your Prince, whose inclination is rather to exactnesse of justice, then to any softnesse or mercy; And whose authority is laid in the Foundation, & tempered in the blood of those who have been nearest to me (though the Grandees of my Empire) what fear and reverence ought not to possesse you? And having advanced so much plenty to your Provinces, having Conquered twelve Kingdoms, and two entire Empires

Empires, gained two and thirty Field Battailes, and fought in person more then in an hundred reencounters; Having given such solemn examples of my Inflice, which hath ever appeared to be very near allied to Cruelty (Efpecially to those who would not know how unlimited our bounds were) After (I fay) all these effects the splendor of my Adions, the Grandeur of my Triumphs, the acknowledgement of my Victories, the dread & fear of my chastifements, could not all these restrain you from base and rude repinings, but that you must needs carry seditious fire to my Seraglio? and after so many Warrs, so many hazards, so much pain and travell, because mineeyes glanced upon a Beauty to murmur at my repose, enchanted with the sweet charmes of her pleasant conversation? But as unjust and impudent as you are, see how after I have conquered others, I can as easily conquer my self: Behold the fad Victory that I here present; and by the Victors tears guess at the difficulty which I met with grapling with such a foul-inchanting Enemy. You (cruell villaines) know, that this fair and unfortunate person, without arms, and without offence, hath given me more trouble then the most potent Enemies. Not able to satisfie your rage with the removall of my affections, I have taken away her life, and with one blow of a Cymeter cut off her head to satisfie your unjust defires. To establish my Throne I have rended my heart from my felf. Doe you not thinke that this faire blood which I have spilt to gratifie your thirsty lusts, shall (sometime or other) extract brack-ish tears from your eyes? No, no, you shall not be discharged at so easie a rate. You will say (perhaps) you would have your Prince intirely without the affections of Love, and to aym at nothing but ambition: You wish for War, and you shall have enough; I shall leade you into fuch eminent dangers, that you shall see that hee shall have honour that dares to follow me; where, if you be not Comards, you shall satisfie with your blood for that which you have forced mee to spill. I must facrifice at least a hundred crowned heads, if I shall proportion Oblations equall to what you have seen me offer; and I ought to offer up my felf if I intend to expiate the fault of those who have constrained me to commit an action so barbarous. Yet seeing in sacrificing my felf I might lofe vengeance fit for you, it is necessary that I survive to punish you, to the end to make insolent Subjects know how to respect Princes with greater honour, and to teach Kings how to chastize barbarous vass als. Those who shall refuse to pay to their Soveraigns just Tributes, are more excusable then those who dare to cenfure their Actions, and to pass their judgement on their Soveraigns Government. It is a thing very naturall to love and keep Gold, Pearls, and Diamonds, which inrich a Family, and serve for the conveniency of Life: But to ratify Majefty of her Glory, and explicate Royall Intentions with opprobrious Insolencie, is a crime as far from pardon as excuse: It could bring no advantage to the offendors, and therefore the more irremissible. Should Kings dive and search into the crimes and errors of their Subjects, how ugly nould they appear? Is there any one of you whom love, hatred, avarice, revenge, ambition, or envy, hath not transported to commit ahundred faults? which because they have not offended civill focietie, and have not been complained of tome, you have not so much as been reproached. And why then (unjust Censurers as you are) should I deigne to answer before you (not for any crimes)

For as tewards you Kings cannot commit them. Yet (not being insensible of what is past) What if I suffered my self to bee caught with the most accomplisht Beauty that ever was borne under Heaven? Trouble not your selves at the occasion of this accident, that glance is over; you shall never more complaine of my effeminate tendernesse: As is was the first in your observation, it shall be the last in my passion. In the mean time learne from this lesson (sealed with innocent blood) that I have passed from one extremity to another; be instructed (by this faire Head separated from her body) that there is not one of you who may not fall by the same destinie: And by this high, and great example, learne to serve and fear those who can as easily destroy you. Of all the Crimes which Subjects can commit, that which you have perpetrated is (without doubt) more directly opposite to Soveraignty. To passe a censure, or to whisper sediticusty against the Actions of Princes, is a sinne so notorious, as none but you durst presume to fancie. As for all other things which you might conceit against him, hee can preserve himselfe. If you should attempt his life, his Guards and personall Valour might prevent your Treason and mischiefe; But from malitious tongues there is no protection. Yet know, the more envious you are towards your Prince, the more you you eter-And when your Prince (in his solitary thoughts) is most fenize his glory. rious for your prosperity; it is then (usually) when you censure his carefull retirements, laziness, or idlenesse. Not considering how much his assive soul contributes towards your quiet, nor his care to your repose. Think not that the facred Character of Princes (which distinguisheth them from their Vasfals) consisteth meerly in the magnificence of their attendance, the puissance of their Armies, and in the riches of their Treasures. No, it is not all this that compleateth the Majesty of Kings, nor doe these royal occurrences onely command your obedience, and make Kings to raign. But it is an honour and obedience seated in the very foundations of your loules, in which garb you ought to approach to their throne with adoration. And you are bound to believe (as toward your selves) that your Prince cannot erre as towards his vassals. This may teach you not to intermeddle with his actions, not to relist his Government, not to demand or Peace, or Warre, to will what he liketh, and to believe that his pleasure is not unjust. It is upon this Basis of Loyalty and obedience that the foundation of Majesty is built; and whereby it is solely preserved: Who ever failes in this original duty may easily fail in all others. It is the Commencement of all Seditions, the ground of all Revolts, the Platform of all, Paricides, Rebellions, and Treasons. It is most important then for all Princes to keep their subjects strictly totheir duty, which entertaineth a true tranquility of their Estates: And makes them raign & live as Kings. The marvellous harmony which governeth the Universe, may serve as a rule to all Princes and people of the World: Since the beginning of all ages, the Rivers have glyded quietly without retortion towards their Fountaines. The Seacontaines it self within its bounds the Heavens are conftant and infallible in their motions, the whole course of nature orderly obeys their primitive Commands, those streames which passe over the Gravell and Sand, are not envious at those which flow over the flowry Aleadowes. The ferpents crawle on the Earth, without envie to the birds which fly in the air, each Creature continues satisfied in that degree to which it hath been first assigned by its Soveraign; quietly resolved by native obedience, to render that honour to the Creator which is due : And I wish

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wish that all people would render to their Princes (whom Heaven hath defigned to be their Lords and Masters) that which is due to them from their Subjects as their birthright naturally obligeth them. Then (without dispute) they might be more happy in their qualities; And if the Prince be more vertuous, their obedience will but render them more fortunate and glorious: If evill and wicked, the Subjects are bound the more to conceal and obscure his vices and errours, or (at least,) fo to compose themselves, as that they will not discern in infirmities or imperfections in their Prince to his prejudice and difbonor. For as there is no virtue, but a vice attending, hath some resemblance to it which every moralist cannot suddainly distinguish: So is it with the Subject, they cannot discern what is exact Justice: Or that Vice which fo much resembles it, which is Cruelty: They cannot conclude rightly whether their Prince be Prodigall or Liberall, whether he loveth Peace or feareth Warre, whether timorous or prudent, rashor Couragious, Provident or Covetous. And therefore Princes who every moment dispose of their lives, ought not to be subject to their judgement, nor Submit to their Censure. Their businesse, is chiefly to study vertue, to practice Obedience, and to referre the Government to their Princes pleasure; Commending themselves to Common Providence of succeeding Events. Murmurs and reprehensions of Vall alls never reform Princes. And they who dare to use such improper addresses, are like those who throw stones up into the air, which fall on the heads of those which cast them; who, if they wound not themselves, yet are they in danger, or else they fall to no purpose. But (perhaps you will say to me) our Complaints, our Murmurs, our Cryes have rowfed your Valour from being longerfull'd and charmed with the imbraces of love: And that you have not onely quitted the object of your passion, destroyed and removed it, but likewise sacrificed that which we contended that you should for sake: at least we have gained this advantage, that we have our defires and more then we expected. To all this I reply, that I have done as much as you fay, but do you withall know the reason of this proceeding? It is to teach you with some terror never to presume to censure any Actions again: For (I lye not) in this Conjecture you have most deceived your selves, you believed that love had banished the thoughts of honour from my heart; That the wanton pleafures of peace had robbed me of the defires of Glory in Warre; And that I had been so accustomed to prostrate my will to the beauty of a fair flave, that I had forgotten the art to Command and rule men; And when I lead the Damiell to the Scaffold, you (doubtleffe) conceived that I ascended thither to make an Apologie as Captivated intirely by that fair Lady, and flain by the darts of her beautifull eyes. But understand once more, You are too low and ignorant to be my judges, and that it belongs to me to be yours. I doubt not but that you will (with much difficulty) digest the stranguesse of this accident, and that now you acknowledge your selves not to be my Judges, but witnesses to approve the Action which I have done in your presence. Some may prefume in their thoughts to account this as barbarous, others will fay that the fair bloud which I have spilt, will blemish the brightnesse of mine honor: Some will conclude that by this Action I have gained more then by a Battail; And in others let thoughts be free. If I be not deceived, they dare not speak but what pleaseth me, or else they do but whisper

very tow. This example is high enough to strike a terrour into those who have vapoured of their owne infolencie in murmuring against mee, and to perswade all Kings, that It is better policie to render themselves formidable, and to live more in their Subjects fear, then in their love. But if any one shall object, the severity of Justice is speedily transformed into Cruelty: I answer; It is much better to think too little, then too much of Clemencie. I confesse, Cruelty may make the Subjects miserable, but Clemencie may make them criminall: A severe Prince banisheth Vice from his Estate: When the indulgent doth tollerate and authorize it, and makes it his usuall recompence. It were better then that Subjects should complaine of their Princes, then that they should bee forced to complaine of their Subjects. Murmur then (you Vassals) at my severity if you have cause. In the resolution I am in, your acciusation will rather prove an honour then an injurie. I have been severe to my self in taking away her life who was the chiefest satisfaction to my owne. And I doe not thinke that any Age (heretofore) can present us so rare an example. It is now our pleasure to resolve you that the Charmes of live, and the thoughts of honour lodge not in my breast at the same instant; Concluding the repose of our present estate to be rendred more secure by fo strange a precedent. If I had admitted this fair Greek to attend me in a March, and that her dalliances had separated mee from the Councels and dangers of Warre, then you might have murmured. If I had lockt her within my Seraglio, the Jealousies of my Sultanaes might have attempted her person, and your hands revenged their Jealousie. And if you had been her Executioners, I had still justified my self as Emperour and Conquerour of what I possesse, though the were destroyed. But rather see this inevitable Fate and Tragedy acted by my selfe in person. I did beleeve it farre better that shee should fall by such an illustrious hand, then to expose her (whom my foul so loved) to your prophane rudenesse. And as we read of some Fathers who have facrificed their own children glorioully for the interest of their Country, I may do the like, and cause my Mistris to dye for my glory, and the Interest of mine own Empire, without suspition offear orignominy. This act is nothing else but the cutting off the thread of her life, not the shortning of mine; the destroying of her beauty, not of my felf; the closing up the splendour of her eyes, not the obscuring of mine own; and though I be robbed of her for ever, yet am I not deprived of the variety of other pleasures. Now as Kings live not onely to themselves, but must render an account of their actions, not to their subjects, but to their Posterity, and Kings their Successors, (1 hope) in facrificing this object of my love, I have sufficiently testified, that all things ought to submit to true honour and renown: That this fole interest ought to supersede all others: And that no other consideration should bee able to interpose in a soul truly Heroick. To bend towards the conclusion, A Prince who acts not with a noble refentment above all others, is not worthy of the quality of that high condition: And whosoever refuseth an occasion (fitly offered) merits not to have it. It is by so fair a temptation wherein you were so fouly criminous, that I omitted not to listen to your murmurings. Having then so cruelly commenced a Warre against my selfe, it becomes me to continue it against mine enemies with an equall valour; and it is your duty to repair your crime by their defeat; and so to merit your lives (which

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I give you) by taking away theirs, by pouring out their bloud for sparing of yours; and that you expiate a pittiful death with an illustrious Victory. Pardon (fair flave) him who hath pardoned thine Enemies, out of meer consideration to his honour: I have been an Infidell to true renown for love of thee. I have abandoned the delign of new Conquests, not revenged the hatred of mine Enemies, and retarded the defire of Victory: But this imperious Mistresse of Heroick soules (whose Domination is so absolute) could not suffer thee longer to be her Rivall. She demands from me my heart intirely, and I have not power to relift her: She hath possessed me from my infancy, and she will enjoy me to my end: I have forfaken thee, (tis true) but tis for that, for which Alexander, the Cafars, and all Princely Heroes of Antiquity have fe rehed to the dah. Be contented then that I am rendred an Infidell to my promise for a moment, and that I find it not ill to be longer inchanted or imprisoned in thy beauty. Tistrue, thy life must be short, but thy Hearfeshall be the more Magnisicke, and thy Memory more illustrious, when I shall make the spoiles of Kingdoms pendants to thy Tombe. Come then (brave Souldiers) Come, let us March to grafpe their Standards and Enfignes in our hands. And all those Trophies of Honour and Triumph which make Victories more bright and glorious in the peoples eyes. You shall see that the Passions of love cannot cause me to forget the honour of Warres But that I know still how to Command and fight: And I pray Heavens that you have not (for your part) forgot to follow and to obey me, having in fo high a degree already forgot your duty. Know (Souldiers) that I caused not this fair Lady to dye, but as I found her a Cloud and Obstacle to the splendor of my name. Look to it then, that your Cowardice Eclips not the beams of my honour: For if fuch an accident shall arrive, nothing shall be able to preserve you from my indignation, nor from the most exquisite punishments. I shall then recompence two horrid Crimes at one time; Confider then, and be not leffe hardy with your hands, then you have been fawcy with your tongues. I know well (according to ordinary Custome) instead of threatning you, I should gently intreat you to the Warrs, and suffer your affronts: But in this Conjuncture my Prudence is more fit and usefull. For if you shall prove Cowards, my Enemies will punish you more severely then if you dyed in the Battail. And if you are brave Spirits, and gain the Field, you may explate your Crimes, and obtain your Pardon. when one person offends, he is to be punished (without dispute) to terrifie others from being Malefasters; but when Multitudes become criminous, it is wis dome to draw ascantage from their frength, rather then to exterminate their persons. Those who have taken the boldnesse to rebell against their Prince being Soveraignly commanded, may prove Stout and Valiant against his Enemies when there is a power above them to force their endeavours. Come then (Souldiers) come I pray let us march and fight. But as I have engaged in the word of your Emperour, I will fight with as much resolution as any private Souldier, and expose my self to equal danger. I shall pretend that you beat the Enemy, and whilest I gain the Victory, you shall raisenew Trophiesto our Crown. Such a successe may redeem your Crimes from the Guilt of innocent bloud which you have spilt, and recover you to that Innocency which you have lost: Such an act may appeale the rage of your displeased Prince, and discharge you from

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that Odium, Infamie and Tortures, which your black Rebellion hath contracted upon you. You know well that I have confined my Clemency to limits of restraint, but my Justice never. Place not then your hopes in the former, but your Dread and Fear in the latter. Souldiers (who are generous) aught to fear nothing more then dishonor, and to hope for no other thing then Vistory. You may yet avoid the one, and obtain the other: But you shall not be able to escape my revenge if you prove Cowards, nor faile to meete with death if you be not Victorious.

The Censure.

I Shall canse this fair head to be cut off when I please, said the Cruell Emperour, to the Mistris of his affections, when he seemed violent in his Carefles and imbraces; yet as barbarous as his expression was, there can be no Compare between the verball terror of a luftfull Tyrant, and the favage adion of this Tiger Mahomet; The language of the first was but like a stalk of lightning, quickly over. But the wrath of the second was the destroying Thunderbolt. The first motions of the souls and hasty rash words slip often from us inconfiderately, and yet are not ranked in the number of mortall finns: No not by the most severe and strictest Casuists. It is confessed, that a good man may have wicked thoughts, and yet those (quickly dying) grow not up to the shape of sinns; though their Conceptions be abominable, yet in a second reflection the soul disliking them, and the will renouncing such finfull Cogitations, it may be fairly granted that sinfull thoughts, and rash words suddainly repented, are very pardonable. There is no imagination so pure which our fantasies can present, but conceived in a tumult, as well have their pardon as imperfection: But within a foul, which radically preserves Innocency, abortive Cogitations vanish away as Clouds: They are as the Creatures Ephemeroy, which dye the same day they are born: Or yet if they have any being, it is so exiguous, that it is scarce visible. But as for this Adion of this Montter Mahomet, it was not of that nature; He compleated his Villary by affing what he had thought, and spoke: Circumstancing his Cruelty with deliberation, making no use of time to repent or return from what he intended, what his imagination conceived, his understanding examined, and his will approved as good: Commanding his hand to commit the Crime, which that member could not have asted, but by the impetuous pleasure of the will. It was his disordered ambition that transformed the Emperour to become the Executioner; Love was not then the predominant, passion, he submitted his soule to another affection more powerfull and Tyrannick; And the fear of exposing his authority to a hazard supplyed him with courage to perpetrate that which I am hardly able to leave in History; So highly doth this Action (in my judgement) deserve to be concluded Barbarous and unnaturall. Policy is a most necessary guide to Government; And it is then best, when regulated by the Maxims of Religion, whose facred direction permits not power to transgresse beyond the bounds of reason, truth and equity: Otherwise Policy is but like a keen sword in the hand of a furious Mad-man. The thoughts of a wife man (where Religion is wanting) grow up into horrid Crimes. And that which Philosophers and Legislators propose as an universall good, turnes to evill, and proves a plague and punishment to

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particular persons. This Prince (of whom we have spoken) (if one so barbarous deserve so noble a name) caused it to be written upon his Tomb, That his design was to ruin Rhodes, and stately Italy. Let us not admire then, if one who designed that his ambition should live on his Sepulcher when he was dead, stuck not totake away that life which he feared might bee an obstacle to his satall ambition. Such proceedings as these are much like to those of angry Lions, who usually strangle them whom they most caresse and court. Those then whom such Tyrants love, ought to sear: for it is a question not easily decided, whether their love or hatred carry greater danger.

Now from this act of horror let us turne our eyes to a spectacle worthy of Compassion, and from this ugly Monster (who dissembled Reluctancie upon the Scassol) let us contemplate upon a King of bester merit, and so divert our

thoughts with more relations of varieties.

FERDINANDO King of Castile, was so far from being austere and cruell to persons whom he affected, that he hated to be unjust to his very enemies. One of his Captaines named Corrall, having defrauded the King of Granada, and unworthily gained vast summes of money by the too much considence which he had plac'd in his sidelitie, FERDINAND his Master esteemed himselfe obliged in honour to requite the injury: And upon this score restored to the King of Granada divers places of his Dominions which he had formerly taken from him. And so soon as he understood how much the treachery of this Gentleman of Castile had abused the credulitie of

the Moorish King, he committed him to prison, he sent for that Generall (who commanded his Armies in the Frontiers of Granada) to the Court, and spake unto him as solloweth.



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FERDINANDO KING OF CASTILE TO THE DUKE OF NAGERA.

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F the inconsiderate zeal of Corrill did not excuse (in some degree) as well as condemne; and if I did not judge of his Actions more by his intentions then by the unhandsome effect which followed, I should teach him by a punishment (as rigorous as just) not to trespasse any more so rashiv against the honour, reputation, and glory of his Prince; nor to trangresse his orders, or exceed his

Commission, whatsoever advantage his deluded reason perswaded him to believe, that hee might doe, or had power to effect, Seeing then that some shadow of good appears mixt with that which is evill, and his flight crime rellished of some tincture of Virtue, and that Clemencie is a Royall quality as well as Justice, towards which the dictate of my naturall inclination is very pliable: I have resolved to pardon him, upon condition neverthelesse, That you (Duke o' Nagera, who in this case appear more just then either he or I, by detaining him prisoner, at the instant when he was culpable) shall make him know at his deliverance, that he hath at least merited a perpetuall impri-That a hundred actions which a noble Spirit (as hee was) might effect, can never countervail his failings: And that if I did not as well call to mind that I am the Father of my Subjects as their King, I should in his person imprint such a bloudy and signall mark of my anger and displeasure, that all others who are inconsiderate should be terrified by his example, and become more wife, declaring to posterity, that I never consented to a thing so unworthy the Grandeur and Majesty of Kings. If this offendor (Noble Duke had endeavoured to breed division in the breasts of Ferdinanda, and Isabella, and to sow diffention and disorder in the Royall Family; if he had withdrawn my Subjects from their duty, raised Forces in our Provinces, and armed my people against me: I shall fay yet further, had he held intelligence with the King of Granada, whom he abused, and had falfly fold him more Towns then hecheated him of by his treachery; had he filled our whole Kingdome with blood, horrour and confusion, (I shall yet mount a degree higher) If he had attemp ted the life of my Children, my Queen, and felf, he had leffe offended me, and had been more pardonable then for that crime which I mention here: For in those affairs he had onely troubled my repose,

and shaken my power, but had not obscured my glory, or stained my reputation. I should have esteemed him unfortunate, but not lo criminous; hee should have appeared mine Enemie, not my Confident. But hee offended with greater dishonour then in all these Circumstances: And if I had both lost my Crown and my life, my honour should have been still entertained (dearer to me then both) which he hazarded to ruine. Oh (Noble Duke) those who say that Princes love not Traitors, but their treafons, know not rightly the fecret inclinations of Princes; nor the deformity of Treason, nor well understand what they say: However I well know that the heart of Ferdinando, is not capable of designes so base and Cowardly; And he can fafely fwear, that he equally detesteth the Traitor and the Treason. It is not because I am ignorant how for many ages, interested and Cowardly Polititians have established, or (at least andeavoured to fettle as an infallible Maxime in the affaires of State; that it is permitted to fow he Fox skin to the Lyons Tail (that is) to unite Craft to power, with defign to prosper equally from them both, as Fortune & occasion shal prefent. They will fay, the Objects of all Kings is their Grandeur and Puissante, and that they ought not to loofe any opportunity to inlarge their power, or forget any Circumstance which may serve their design. They may yet adde, that it is pertinent to use any meanes that may facilitate their arrivall to their ends; (It matters not by what Mediums obtained) That all paths which lead to the Soveraignty of a Throne are fair, and it little imports whether their Frontiers are guarded, or their limits planted in fair weather or foul, whether by Force of Armes, or Snatcht from others in the night by Subtlety or craft; when the pretentes have been Innocency, and the designs Ambition. In a word, such evill Judges of humane actions, have confounded noble Conquerers with Robbers, Usurpation with just titles, Good actions with bad, glory with Infamy. Such Statesmen permit, that it is lawfull to destroy, and to conceal the destroyer: They are not ashamed to allow that execrable Maxim, that nature hath made nothing in vain, nor created poisons without their end. See (Duke) the wicked rules and horrid Counsells of worldly Polititians; But these are not the guides that lead Ferdinando and Isabella: Who, before we conceive evill thoughts, or at least, dath them not in peeces in their birth, pray with all our hearts to God that he would rather take away our Scepter and our life. How great and magnificent soever a King may be (though a Conqueror) I holda man of honour, and a Christian, of all persons most highly excellent. Innocency and true notlenesse are things of most pretious quality, and more full of Majesty then Robes of Purple or Crowns of Gold. The quiet and tranquility which springs from a good Conscience, gives a sweet relish and satisfaction to the Soul, which no Throne of its own Vertue can afford: And who foever is toucht with a defire of true generofity and nobleneffe, can never meet with it, but in a participation and possession of a Candid and unspotted mind. If the indiscreet and ill advised Corrall, instead of those prisoners which he made me return without Ransome had brought the King of Granada in fetters; If instead of the Silver which he stole from him, he had brought to me all the gold which Christopher Columbus of Genoa pretends to be within his New-found World; If instead of those places which his Treason would have given me, he had effectively delivered to me the proud Castle of Halambra: If (I say) he had subdued unto me the whole Kingdome of Granada, furprized that great City which gave nomination

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nation to the whole Kingdome, chased all the Mores out of Spain, and driven those Monsters into Affrica: If all these Great actions had not been done by lawful meanes; I should have disavowed them, as wel as that which he hath unworthily effected; and have refused those Crownes and Kingdoms, as well as those Townes & that Treasure, which he fo basely and Cowardly obtained: But perhaps (will some one say) that the Theologie of Kings ought not to be so very scrupulous; For as their Condition is more eminent and high then others, so the Conduct of their affairs is the like: that what is prohibited to private subjects, is permitted to Soveraignes: And it matters not so much whether the design be lawfull and honorable, provided it prove possible and profitable. Suppose we should yeild, (as having fulpended our reason) to such Maxims of so dangerous error: Doth not the Polititian (in this Case) finde perfidious utility, black and odious? And when that polition (which is certainly ever falle) shall prove true; that Princes never ought to Act, but for their particular interest: What advantage may I look for, or what good fuccesse may I attend? Nay, rather what evill doth not my reason perswade me to fear, and justly expect? Publick Faith, the Lawes of Nations, natural equity ought to be facred, and inviolable Bonds, which in all ages and all Nations ought most religiouly to be observed: These are as antient as the World, and will not terminate but with it? And wholoever transgrelleth these limits of justice, is not lookt upon onely as milchievous, but as monstrous; an Enemy to civill fociety, and a Common Perturbator of publick peace. Such a one is a horror to Heaven and Earth, and each foul lookes upon him as an impious and facriligious person, who deserves not the Element of Fire or Water; but being an odious offence to Nature, ought justly to have all creatures to fight against him. All People have certain Lawes and Customes which they hold, as their particular propricties, not like beafts intercommoning with each others; Those Lawes of the Persians are not those of the Turks, those of the Italians are not those of the French, those of the Spaniards are not those of the English Northole of Poland those of the Muscovits: So may it be faid of all other Nations. In this variety each person may be observant to their own Lawes without interruption to others, or infelting peace and repose of the universe; Nay without so much as a verball Contradiction. But it cannot be faid so of publick Faith, of Jus Gentium, and naturall equity; These are things that are universally reverenced of all people and all Countries: And by Confequence, those who violate them cannot expect but to be detelted of all men in generall. If I should then have approved the odious Action of Corrall, my Faith, my Word, my Integrity may come to be flighted, or at least suspected by all the Princes of the Earth. Which of my Allyes, in Leagues of peace might not fear my perfidious underminings? And which of my Enemies (during Warre) would give Faith to my Paroll, or affie in my Treaties? My most genuine and freest proceedings would undergoethe fuspition of treachery and deceit; they would look upon my promises & engagements as baites to allure their Credulity; and listen to my propositions as Fables and lies: They would credit that all my discourse comprised under it a secret and malitious sence, they would strictly examine all my words, scorne every particular syllable, and atter an exact and rigorous discussion of my thoughts, they would conclude, that they cannot be affured of any thing they pretend to; And

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for fear of exposing the grand eur and security of their estates to the hazard of Falihood, they would resolve to trouble me eternally. All persons are either my superiours, more powerfull then I, or my equals, or my inferiours: And amongst these three orders of men, not only my neighbors, but all Princes of the Universe are comprehended: And it is undoubtedly true that the first wil resolve certainly rather to oppresse me, then injudiciously to exposethemselves to perill, and to be anticipated by me. In the choice of acting or fuffering Injustice, there are but few generous men that will choose the latter way. And although the purity of Christianity hath left us a precept of perfection; yet there are but few Christians, andrarely any Prince who is persuaded to obey that eternall truth, and to follow (upon any occasion) such disinterested Counsels. To speak then the truth of things (as they ought) there is no Prince who could, or ought to believe, if I had committed fuch infidelity, that my ruin had not been very necessary; or (for a generall good) who would not think it a brave action to endeavour all his power to hasten my fatall moment? As for the second rank, of those who are equall in power with me, their perpetuall observations of my infidelity howerly arming them, will never suffer mee to be in any repose, nor make any League or accord with mee. The least alteration between their Subjects and mine will speedily bee made a matter of State: The least disorder which shall arise in the Commerce of Trade will be interpreted as an injury to the Soveraign: The least Banke which shall be in dispute towards the Frontiers betwixt particulars, will Alarum all the Country into Commotions, as if I incroached upon their Provinces. And (in conclusion) it will fall out, that the hazard of a Battaile may decide the differences, and that the good fortune of the Victorious, or ill of the Vanquished may bring ruine to both parties, and so calme their inquietudes, and all their misapprehensions. For the last fort, which are the weakest, though they appear most contemptible, they oftentimes prove most formidable For as they know themselves to be in danger to lose all, so they deport themselves more cunningly crafty to defend themselves against the oppression they seare, or misdoubt : Hereupon they andeavour to fow the feeds of discord and division amongst the Subjects of an unfortunate Prince whom they fear; they incite the Malecontents, and quicken their capricious humours; they complain and murmur with seditious spirits, and interest them to their party for mutuall affistance of each other: Then they decry the present Government, reproaching the Prince, as unjust and tyrannicall, and so struggle to shake off the yoak of their obedience, and abandon his protection. And if Princes beetoo strong for these factious Boutefeus, then they gather, and affemble in Conventicles; first whispering their mischief in secret, and after breake out into open Confederacies and Rebellions: In the end these unquiet, and turbulent spirits, (hurried away with giddy apprehensions) redouble their naturall activity; and having a specious pretence for their enterprize, never cease, but change and tumble untill they reduce all things into confusion and disorder. And having runne into that extremitie, ingender (at length) such grosse clouds and opinions upon the Prince, that hee is judged criminall; and outrages daily encreasing, the rude multitudes, like Thunder-claps, and Lightenings, threaten

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a terrible desolation. It is in vaine in such an unfortunate conjuncture of evils to expect any succours from Neighbours; who (if not protessed Enemies) rather become Newters then Parties, or Assistants. This perfidiousness strikes as well an odium, as a horror to all who observe it, and gaineth pitty from no person: Nay, it is a condition which scarce procureth attention, much leffe compassion to the saddest complaints; and the most scrupulous persons seeme satisfied, being spectators of the disgraces of a faithlesse Prince: Conceiving themselves to merit respects, if they augment not their misfortunes, and dishonour. This is not all, but how great soever their miseries beein a visible apparance, the acts of Injustice prepare other exquisite and certain evils. Princes are ordinarily the rules of their Subjects actions: And are as the Primum mobile to all their motions: Their great examples are imitated, and followed by the people; each one sees, objerves, and strives to follow their Prince as their guide; Complacency commencesh this imitation, and a submissive habitude doth continue it. If the Prince be virtuous, the people are of that inclination: If wicked, and viticus, the Subjects are apt Scholars to such a bad lesson. And as the Throne is highly elevated above ordinary ranks and degrees, so are the Princes errors least concealed, and (by consequence) the people speedily learn to imitate them, or study revenge against him. If it bee so, then what fidelity or confidence can that Prince have in his Subjects, who wanteth fidelity himselfe? Will not such a faithlesse Governour, who failes to regard his own word, teach his people the same pradice? And will the people beleeve that Rebellion can be a greater sinn: in them, thenfalleness can be in their Prince? Duth he think that by teaching of them that the Laws of Nations are not sacred and inviolable, he dith not likewise teach the way of disbonour, and distoyalty to Princes? Doth he beleeve (abusing the equity of Nature her self) that the people can have any respect for his injustice? May be not expect that his false and cowardly dealing with his equals will perswade fear and hatred in his inferiours? In brief, if good Princes have so great a trouble to raign happily, how can evil Princes but expect to be destroyed with ignominie? When none of these accidents shall arrive, our neighbour Princes shall live without ambition, our Subjects without revolt, as having nothing to feare on earth, and shall stand in dread of nothing but him who rules in heaven; their love shall make them loyall, and their Princes Justice secure. Do not I know that God hateth the faithlesse, and their insidelity? that oathes cannot be broke without a sinne? And is not the right of Nations (in some divine Relation) near to heaven? Have not I learned, that I should not take the name of Godin vain? And must we not then conclude, That in all Treaties which Princes make, their words and intentions are as common witnesses of their Treaties; whereby they warrant and establish engagements to each other? And shall not hee who is Lord of Lords, and Lord of hosts, as he is full of power, bee esteemed equally full of Justice? Can I believe he will approve the Injustice of any in the service of those Armies where he himself is General? And will authorize their perfideoulness (who violate their primises) without Revenge? Ought we not (in reason) not onely to fear, but to beleeve (as a thing infallible) that he will remit me to the power and fortune of mine Enemies, and hurle upon my head the vials of his wrath and indignation? And that he will (through mine own misery) render me a sad spectacle of his

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justice for the enormitie of such a Crime? Oh (my Lord Nagera) had I no other confideration but this alone, I could not but detest (as I have done) the unworthy action of Corrall; and disavow his unjust proceedings. Yet (it may be) Corrall may fay (as endeavouring to disguise and extenuate his fault, and in some kinde to paint over the Uglinesse of his infidelity) That had he dealt with generous Enemies, who had had a facred reverence for their word and honour, he would have had more regard to his Faith: But knowing that (by many experiences) the Africk of our age is the same with that of the former, and that the Punick faith (sometimes so decried) is the same which the Moores observed to this day to deceive the credulity of other people; Yet their fraud and falfnesse is no example to any person of Honor. He could not believe himself to have erred in imitating them; But rather that in this he committed a high act of Justice in making use of the fame weapon (of treachery) with which they fo frequently (though unjustly)affayl others to punish themselves. But in what School distinction could Corral learn, that it was not lawfull to make choice of evill things for present advantages? If he who leades the way, throw himself voluntarily upon a Precipe, can he oblige others to follow him? If the Moores have been perfidious, ought the Christians to be fo too? No, no , the Alcoran and the Evangile teach not the same Maxims. Jefus Christ and Mahomet have not commended to the World the same precepts. Wee are not then to act according to that Doctrine, which wee detest as abhominable, and which wee believe to have sprung from Hell. These cowardly Actions, and infamous Treasons. ought to have imprinted a horror in Corrall, and not to have engendred in his foul the imitation of a defign fo Criminous. He ought to have remembred that he was born in Spain, not in Morocco, and to have consider'd that he was a Christian, and not a Moor, he ought not to have forgotten the names of Ferdinando and Isabella, which certainly are to be distinguish't from Abindarrais and Fatime; And that they detested to approve an action which their Religion did condemn, and directly shakes the Honor, renown, and Laws of Nations, and which (though the Moores perfidiously admit) all Christian Princes abhorre. To speak truth, the Moore and Christian (in this conjuncture) have exchanged their Principles: Have not men seen the Franknesse and ingenuity of the King of Granada in this whole proceeding? And can any eye be shut at the Treason and persidiousnesse of Corrall? I am aftonished that Corrall did not onely not blush at his insolency, but that he dyed not for shame in the horror of his own confusion; which he had done, had he but had fence to confider that all the Earth must know, that a Moore was faithfull, and that a Spaniard, a Gentleman, and a Christian had the basenesse to become a Coward and a Cheat. But he hath not onely deceived the King of Granada, but Ferdinando and Isabella also: He had the boldnesse, after he had abused the generall; (And in that Action affronted you also who Command our Armies in the Frontires,) to injure his Masters as impudently; And to ingage them in his perfidious Acts and difgracefull carriage. For when he addressed to me to obtain power to treat with the King of Granada, he spake not to me of any thing more then what your letters imported, mentioning no foul defignatall. He onely moved that he might have leave to treat upon the Ransome of some Prisoners

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and the rendition of some places: And I was pleased to invest him with Conditionall power, which he abused in deceiving that Prince. In the mean time, who could have believed a Subject should have attempted so rashly a matter of so high a nature, and without order and consent from his Master? Or rather who will not doubt but that I had the unworthinesse of Concurrence, if I had not by assed my Course another way, by disavowing and detesting what Corrall did? Now if we have found that men have flain their own Sonnes for giving battail without order (although they were victorious over their Enemies) What severe punishment hath this undiscreet Commander merited, who did not onely this action without my order, but hath committed a most horrid fact, which is not onely covered with Infamie, but which he basely designed to obtrude on my Shoulders? (Sir) if I had in this action observed reason and justice, Clemency and pitty would have found no place, and the offendor should have received the wages, and recompence of his deferts. And now who knowes whither the restitution which I am about to give, will falve the breach, and fully make reparation to mine honor? or whither posterity wil judge candidly of my intentions? or rather not conclude them culpable? And that these second resolutions are but the effects of some remorfe or poling? and yet the glory of Ferdinando and Isabella is not of so little Fame, but that some Princes out of envy would be glad to taint and obscure it with so black and foul a cloud. Yet Cerrall may plead, those whom I deceived are Moores. I answer, those whom thou dilt abuse, were Men better deserving then thy self; because they had Faith, and thou wert false. It matters not whether those we treat with wear a Hat, or a Turbant, a Rayier, or a Cimeter, whether Christians or Infidells, whether they love or bate; The obligation of Faith is the chiefest Bond amongst persons of Honor: It is the very Ligament of Nature and all fociety. During peace, what Commerce without faith? and during warre, what Capitulations without treaties? and without which men would be transformed into a condition worse then Tygers and Lyons? belides, the petty subtile fals ties and treacheries of private persons, are not compatible with the Grandeur and Noblemesse of Princes. Such poor Artifices become not Kings and Soveraignes. Frugality in a Prince may be censured Avarice, and a vice, which in a subject may be justly commended as a piece of prudence, and a vertue. In a condition then so high, base and low thoughts are not to be admitted, nor any thing afted not beseeming the quality of a King. And I shall incomparably loose the best advantage, if I should but hazard that of mine honours Which once forfeited instead of a Triumphant Chair in the midst of glorious Armies, and famous Townes, I should obscure my self in forlorne deferts as unworthy to be in the view of the World, or for ever to see Sun. The lives of glorious Princes ought to be as unspotted as the purest Christall, and mine is not to be defaced with the black stain of falsity: For tis certain, if a Prince loofe his honour, that losse is irreparable for ever. The Crimes of private persons may be concealed in the obscurity of their quality, and buried in oblivion as well as their memory. But the actions of Princes whether good or bad survive to posterity. As Pilots observe the Rocks in the Sea, to avoid them, so do the people the evill actions of Princes. And as Fathers in the presence of their Children more severely punish their flaves to deterre their offspring from their faults: So History immortalizeth the lives of monstrous Kings to prevent succellors

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FERDINANDO,

ceffors from their crimes. Their memory proves an execration to all the Earth: Those who never knewthem, live to hate them: Those, whom they never offended, survive to prosecute them, & wil not permit their ashes to sleep in quiet; which is a common Charity to all others, dead in their graves: They are deprived from all protection. living or dead, and their Carcasses are insecure, and not sure to moulder quietly in their Tombes. Let them then who are resolved to set holy Temples on fire, and commit notorious crimes, that their infamous Acts may be longer lived, follow the examples of Corrall, and approve, what his Consideration undertook. But as for Ferdinando and Isabella, who aime at glorious immortality, and abhorre unworthy actions, they shall alwaies detest and condemn Corralls ignoble treachery. And they should as well condemn the offender as the crime, if his Valour did not plead for Grace for his imprudence, if Clemency were not a Virtue Royall as well as Justice, and did not (of the two) more incline to humanity. But feeing no Kings are so perfect, either in their Offices or persons; but have cause to addresse to Heaven for pardon for many offences: They are not to refuse others, humbly imploring favour and remission, nor be inexorable for what they pray themselves. They ought rather to apprehend by their own infirmities how to use grace and mercy towards others; And if Princes expect their Subjects should tollerate their errors and imperfections, there is a kind of a necessity for them to be propitious to their Subjects, or at least to correct but gently, seeing they are the Fathers of the people. That Corrall lives then, who is so unworthy, it is a reprive onely to render him capable to endeavour a Reparation of his Grime, by better actions, and thereby to wash off the infamy of his perfidiousnesse: And (in some degree) he may justifie and manifest to all the World the splendor and clearnesse of that honor and reputation of his King which he had so basely abused. Return then (Duke Nagera) to the Frontiers, where you commanded my Armies: make restitution to the King of Granada, of all those places surprised by perfidious Corralls satisfie him out of my own Treasury for the Ransome of all the Prisoners delivered, & command Corral to remain Prisoner till he have furrendred all the treasure he basely robbed from the King of Granada. To this purpose dispatch a Trumpet with one of our Heraulds to the King of Granada to make an Apologie, and to excuse the insolent affionts of Corrall, and to assure him (at the same instant) that I have no need of such ignoble meanes and waies to vanquish my Enemies; Nor shall such treacherous falsities be the degrees to my advantages. Faile not in your duty to our Commands: For I intend that all the Earth shall understand, that I scorn to steal, or use treachery to gain a Victory, or to increase my grandeur by dishonorable and ignoble means.

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"Ertainly this great adion did well become Alexander the great, from whom Ferdinando borrowed the last words of this descourse. And I doe not wonder that a Prince so high did so great'y value his honour; nor that his Conque Sts proved correspondent to his courage. The petie Artifices, and exill waies of unworthy Actors, may serve sometimes to enrich the projectors with more facility; and such fobbs and cheats are more tollerable (if ever) in persons of mean fortunes, and baje conditions, where the obscurity of their birth may concea'e apart of their shame, and an extreame necessity place them telow the cognifance of the Lav: Both these qualities may frame excase, and (insome kinde) tollerate, if not authorize the injustice of their proceedings. But for Princes, Kings, and Monarchs, who have no other objects for their defignes but true renown, these base, and ignoble actions in them cannot but bee famed borrid and shamelesse crimes. Those Martiall Laws which have warranted Heraulds boldly to denounce a Warre, have decreed their persons to be facred, and the same Lawes doe condemne Spyes to death. Those Captaines, who after the Battell imbrace, and careffe their Enemies prisoners, ordaine exact punishment for them that keep not their Paroll. In a word, as the Lightning still precedes the Thunder, fo Kings ought not basely to surprize their Enemies by perfidious Treachery unworthy their Grandeur. Those whom Fortune hath elevated to a Throne are so rich and powerfull, that in their wars they ought not to have any other end, or object, but honour, and reputation; and what valuation can they expect by a perficious interest, or by a base, and ugly Artifice? It was the speech of an ordinary Officer to his King, I would use deceit if I were in thy place; and it was a Princely Answer, I might perhaps use it if I were in thy condition. The darke and lesser Starres as they are obfoured with every Cloud, so their spots are not visible to every eye; but the least Ecclipse of the Sunue is discerned by all the Earth. It is fo with Kings; as the ascent of their Throne is in the view of all the world, to are their perfections or errors equally visibles. They cannot then be too corefull of their Renown. And as true lovers are ever apt to be jealous: 80 Princes passionatly amorous of true Glory, cannot be too scrupulous in its preservation. I know it is an Old Maxime, Give a flying Enemy a Golden Bridge; And that Philip of Macedon said, that no place was impregnable, where a Mule loaded with Gold can climbe; And another Politician afferted. That Children were to be deluded with toyes, and men with promites. Fet I believe these Maxims are false, and fallible, and absolutely unworthy a noble mend or a prudent flatefman. But fince that Ferdinando bath fearthed to the bostome the arguments of this discourse, wee shall not further intage in the dispute. And seeing we are at Castile, we intend to speak of another King of that Nation. Don Henry during the Civill Warre having blockt sparebellious Fort, and the teffeged having made a Sally, among st others an Enemy Cavalier was taken Prisoner; who sinding his wounds Mortall, prayed the Guards to give him leave to go speak with the King, that before his death he might discover a secret of Grand importance; The chiefe Officer granted his request, and in the presence of the King (before he expired his last) he related with much regrett and testimony of repentance, that he sallied out of the Town with express orders (as others) to kill the Kings And according to their joynt command.

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command, they generally ingaged; Then secretly whispering, he named althose Grandees, to the King, who had consented and conspired to so evill a resolution; as soon as the relation was made, the Prisoner died. After which action Don Henry would never reveal to any one of his Considents, those whom that Cavalier had accused. And this discourse is to justifie a silence so extraordinary, which denyed all importunities of his nearest friends and Counsellors to get discovered.



DONHENRY TO THE Count of D'ALBA TORMES.



Know well (Noble Count) that the Subject whereon I am to discourse is not ordinary, but I am satissized also (if Prudence and Policy abuse me not) that it is not unreasonable. In all the accidents of a Kings Reigne, it stands with his wisdome to consult and weigh those things he intends to undertake, whether they be Just, Prositable, and Glorious;

which three Conditions are very necessary to Royall enterprizes and when these three qualities are first defigned, it cannot be, but that the Cooperation of all three will be harmonious in the same end. Iustice and true renown render joyes full of Innocence, which voluptuous pleafure is a stranger unto and clemency in those who know how to practice it as they ought, renders true delight, which revenge is ignorant of, how sweet soever it may appear to the imagination. Before I can examine the refentment of two objects so extreamly contrary (which is the present task) I must present to your memory, That a Cavalier prickt with remorse of Conscience, desired to see me, and as he was dying, to discourse to me a design which he had to kill me, and to reveal their names who had imployed him in that cruell Office, at which instant he could nominate no other Authors of his Crime, but mine own revolted Subjects: He fallied out of Valladolid with others, and was not of my Camp then, when he undertook this barbarous resolution. And it is with well ballanced confideration (as I shall shew in the sequell of this difcourse) what I have here undertaken: In the mean time let the spectators judge whether I have not discreetly managed my power, being equally effective to revenge or punish as Wisedom and Policy have advised mes or whether too much compassion hath not suborned me to Clemency, or a false representation of Glory hath not clouded my reason. First to consider the Affaires in generall; it is confessed that Revenge is sweet, and carries with it a Character of Divinity, and that it is the most terrible Mark of the Power of Soveraignes: It is by that wheremith the Subjects bearts are possessed with fear and tremblings tis revenge that bridles Neighbour Princes, and confines them within their own limits: It is she that aweth the people to a continuation of peace; And (in effect) the makes Kings more formidable, to all other fir's of Subordinate men

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But we must admit (sometimes) of this distinction, that amongst christian Princes it is enough to be of power to revenge those who prejudice the peace and welfare of a Kingdome; who for some reasons sometimes may better be punished: But to imagine that revenge is an all permitted on all occasions, is an erring Principle, which evill Princes have established, as resolving whom they cannot make to love, those they will inforce to fear: As often as the Thunder rattles over our heads, it strikes a terrour; but it falls not on all the criminous, because the world is full of them: The Sanne shines as well on the wicked as the good: God pardoneth more often then he punisheth; his Clemency spreadeth more universally then his Justice; which Attributes, though equall in perfection, are not equally and respectively executed on us. As for Revenge 'tis to be used as Physitians do Poysons, (that is) in violent, and dangerous Maladies, where every other remedy will be infedire, and where neversitie commandeth to force and drive away one evill by another. Revenge may be sometimes convenient, though not alwaies. The destroyers of Cities. Provinces, and Kingdoms, who to destroy one enemie commit thousand innocent persons to the miseries of war, and care not for the prodigall effusion of blood to satisfie their rage, survive in History, but in an infamous Character. The innocent bloud spilt dyes their crime in a deep Tincture: And (in my opinion) such bloody Tyranis are not to be ranked with noble Princes. But Clemencie makes not so great a noises She casts a radiant beam of honour over them who practice so divine a Virtue: She covers their heads with a bright Ray of Splendor who are guided by her, whiles the Plotters and Actors of Revenge are inveloped in thick clouds of darkneffe and blood. The one engender eth abirth of Love, the other of Hatred; the one leaves you in tranquillity, the other moves you to perturbation; the one procures you thousands of faithfull servants, and the other stirs up millions of se-cret enemies; the one intendeth the consolation of the miserable, and the other is ever busie in the invention of punishments. Revenge deviseth Fetters, Clemency considereth how to unloose them: The one practifeth the filling of Tombs and Graves, the other is recalling to life those who have merited the sentence of Death. To conclude then rationally this point; Revenge is not to be permitted to Kings, but when it serves infallibly for profit or glory: And that secret delight which is inseparable to those who study revenge (as to punish those who have offended them) is not considerable in the breast of a noble and Christian Prince. It is so then (i) occasion rightly offer) that if neither profit, nor glory may be obtained, that the exercise of revenge may be prudently suspended: And Justice (where these confiderations are) will be no telle fatured : For that which makes Revenge glorious, is then when a Prince hath in his power a proud and insolent Enemy, who being the head and chief of a Faction or Conspiracie, deserves severest punishment, whose example may teach all his party to tremble, and stand in awe, when they behold the most eminent and notorious Malefactor amongst them so disgracefully lose his head: And where Clemency may be interpreted fear or cowardife, there in the exact preservation of the majesty of a Crown, it is more prudence to incline to revenge then pitty: For when one pardons, at that time, when it may beconjectured he dares not presume to punish; at such an instant Clemencie may be lookt on as an ambiguous Virtue: But when a Prince passeth an Act of Grace on such considerate circumstances as I have done

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done, upon a poore Cavalier, full of mortall wounds, at the point of death, and already stretcht on the Beere, who expiring the last minutes of his life, closeth them up with repentance, begging pardon for his traiterous deligne, and then naming the Authors, and Contrivers of the black conspiracie it would not onely have appeared akind of cruelty, but likewise imprudence to have then augmented his torments which caused his remorfe; and to have posted him to his Grave, who had not (possibly) but a few moments longer to breath: But I was so farre from hastening his death, that I should rather have endeavoured his continuance if the cure of his wounds had been as equally in my power as my disposition to pardon his offence: And certainly in his great extremities the grief for his crime against his Prince did more sadly affect him then the sharpnesse of his wounds. These reasons well weighed, no man can justly suspect that fear or weaknesse snatched this pardon from my hands, unlesse hee will affirme, that it is a glory for a Prince to take revenge on a feeble, wounded, dying Penitentiarie, weeping, and bleeding for his crimes. Difficulty and danger equally fet forth the glory of revenge as well as war. And if Kings were obliged in policie to punish all indifferently who have offended them, (They being naturally for the most part vindicative) they [bould never want matter for their displeasure to work on, nor a plenary l'atisfaction to their cruelty, if inclined to such practifes: For there are too many feeble Criminals in all estates, whose blood might he exhausted easily, and without danger (their lives or deaths being indifferently in the Princes power) as to the repose and quiet of their Kingdome. Now if the punishment I might have inflicted on this poore snake could not be glorious, it could not have redounded to any advantage. I have formerly told you that this Cavalier sallied (as others) out of Valladolid, and that his evill enterprise was not formed in our Camp; and consequently an example to fevere and rigorous was not then necessary, either to keep secret Enemies in their Allegeance, or thereby to hinder the eruptions of their malice and rebellion: For they were publick Enemies who were accused, and who employed him. And this is (Generous Count) the difference betwixt the one and the other (if my policie faile not) that the one kind is to be terrified with feare, and the other invited by the acts and grace of love. If a King receive intelligence that some notable plot is designed against his person, or his royall Throne: And that the things in agitation are not come to maturitie and ripenesse, but depend on some incertainties, so that his greatest Enemies appeare loyall, as if his friends! And the Bisho, s and Peclesialticks (being of the same complexion) have their hearts as equally divided as their Miters (their opinions in generall being diffentaneous) and no person having openly declared; In such a calean example of punishment and revenge may be seasonable, and necessary: For if a Prince be not sometimes assize in revenge, his people will conclude him too timorous, or too indulgent; and thereby be encouraged to a Revolt, which his severity might have prevented. In occasions, of this nar ture consideration ought to be had to this Maxime of Policy, That a si asonalle act of Jastice (and thereby an effusion of little blood) sometimes prevents an inundation of misery, and takes away the cause of ample pardons, and unlimited Clemensy. But then when secret devices and conceased conspiracies break forth into publick Revolts, and open Rebellions, and

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fuch desperate resolutions have armed the Subjects against their Prince: It is his businesse in such a case to know how to subdue Insolencie with true honour, and to chastise them with the Sword, as well as how to pardon them. Revenging Justice is not alwaies seasonable, publick punishments are most fit and proper for the Battell; and when Rebels become vanquisht prisoners, the surest second Conquest is effected on them by grace and pardon's thereby conquering as well those who never came into the field, as those who had the fortune to escape the edge of the sword. By this meanes some are reclaimed, others cheerfully invited to obedience; and the Confequence proves a double Victory. It is confest, this Rule is not infallible; and that some are so obstinate and malitions, that neither pardon, nor punishment can regulate or Subdue their passion: And as for Clemencie, they are (for the most part) deafe towards her mild and courteous voice (ingaged wilfully to their resolutions with some wicked partie) but I know well that he who is not toucht with a just apprehension of his ownervor or crime, will hardly be convinced by the terrors of fear; or, In the beginning of a Civill War, it is not misdome to make all those desperae who are gulty: For what greater misery can happen to them, after they are once engaged in mischief, then to fall into the hands of a provoked Prince, whose severity will not hearken to a submissive Repentance? This is the way to make them resolute even to the hazard of his own Army ; since it often happens, that the fear of an approaching ceath makes men act things miraculous; and even more then can possibly be expected from humane power. To rebate then the truth of things; Revenge confifts not sulely in the exercise of punishment; but to have power to revenge, and to be able to undertake it with facility; or (at least) in thout danger, is undoubtedly the most noble and highest satisfaction in such occurrences: And there is often more content to see an enemy obliged to your sweetnesse, then to see him expire under the torments of a rigorous severitie. This example then of my moderation which I have presented this day may be an occasion to disarme those who shall be most violent against me in the remainder of my life. It may bee in this very houre wherein I speak) someothers may repent, and are consulting how tocast themselves at my feet: And all who have revolted, hearing of this act, may be toucht with shame, or struck with confusion : But however if they are not yet made penitent and pliant, (I faid before) how rigorous foever it may be, shakes none but feeble and fearfull foules: But Clemency on the contrary is very affective on generous mindes, more then on others. Virtues are generally linked in fuch a Concatenation, that whatever difference feemes to appear amongst them, they are all united in building up the same pile, and they have (which I cannot describe) a secret union amongst them which cruseth those who possesse any one, to discerne that they have an insensible cohabitation with all the rest. Thus the valiant Souldier admires Justice in the person of the Prince, the Magistrates honour Valour and Courage in the Commanders; all Noble minds, who have Heroick thoughts have a capacity and sence of a virtuous example. But you will tell me that which aftonisheth us most in this your action, is not that you have pardoned a fingle Cavalier, a Prisoner wounded, ready to dye, and begging pardon; but that you are pleafed to conceale the names of those who commended the Ponyard to his hand that was to stabbe you, and suggested the designe to attempt your life; fince which time you have wrapped up that secresie in fuch

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fuch filence, that even all your faithfullest Subjects are intirely ignorant of those persons who were your chiefest Enemies. Some of you likewise may object; what moves you to be of their party, and so to act against your selfe? Behold (noble Count) these are the consultations and thoughts which I read very legible in your countenances, and those conjectures I daily observe through the impatience wherewith you have attended me hitherto. But before I shall give you any more reasons which perswaded me to an action of this kind, know this, that I shall be the most faithfull of all my Conspirators, and that in all my life I shall never discover to any one those who had defigned my death. I know this proceeding may bee as fingular as the example; yet I cannot be diffwaded but that my intentions are rationall; to examine which with more strictnesse wee must ferioully confider the interest of the Prince; that of his Children, that of the Families of the Conspirators, and that of the State in general. For the first, it is true that it is possible that Posterity may not know that there had been a conspiracie to destroy their King; and perhaps it were better if it were fo. That History (which professeth to be im partiall, faithfull, and exact) it may thinke fit (without any feruple) to filence those actions which merit eternall oblivion 3 and whereby the memory of the Prince could receive no advantage: And yet it is not so, because it is not true, that wicked men conspire as well against virtuous Princes as against Tyrants. It may be further objected, that such a Record were for the shame of those who lived in that age, and were Subjects under that Reign; and it is doubtleffe more glorious for Kings to suffocate the bruit of Conspiracies, then to perpetuate them to Posterity. If this reason seeme not strong enough to support my resolution, let us examine what utilitie may redound by the publication of that which hath been revealed. You are not ignorant (fince wee are before Valladolid, where refide the Archbishop of Toledo, Admirall Frederick, the Master of Alcantara, Count De Medellin, and the rest of those Confederates are met) That the Capitall Conspirators are not in such a place where they can easily be taken; That they have their Swords in their hands; That they are in a most strong Town, and in the midst of a considerable Army, and by consequence in a condition insolently to deny, and outface those evill designes which I might publish, and to secure themselves against all attempts. If then (these consideratious first premised) I should condescend to particularize the Attempters of my life, how think you would fuch Enemies after bee ever invited to a Treaty of Peace? Can you imagine after fuch a declaration they will ever have a confidence in me? Again, how resolutely, think you, they will now act? Or how doe you suppose they ought to proceed to put in execution that which they shall know me to understand? Really, I think, they would have cause to make this use of such an action in me: Nor could they provide for their own fecurity other vife, then by adding one finne unto another. The ignominie and danger which fuch a Publication would throw upon them, and lay them open unto, could not possibly be encreased: And being rendred thus desperate, can you believe they would not act further to fave those lives, which for what they have already committed must certainly bee lost. No, no (Noble Count) these must necessarily be the events, and there-

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therefore I shall not repent my having been secret and faithfull to my Enemies. Crimes voluntarily repented of, merit leffe of accufation, so sometimes It ame directeth the offenders to the way to vertue, who's persons would never return if their faults were published. Therefore we are never to divulge a crime but what we are able (if God please) to punish. If Kings were to act as their Subjects, then undoubtedly a truth of this importance were not to be concealed or disguised, because the hatred of one particular person doth usually last with his life, and it may be that which he doth not effect at one time, he may execute at another. But it is not so with Princes. Malice ordinari) is not directed towards their persons, but their power. And conspiracies designed against them, are for the most part upon causes which continue not long upon equall foundations: For we fee that Conspirators themselves (according to events) alter their intentions. Such politick Artifts there are, who may attempt the life of the Princes Andyet arecolution of affairs may command them to hazard their own for his fafety. As for obtaining their delires, they are sometime wearied with them, and they may chance to loofe their evil intentions, because never publisht to the World; and an exill constellation being past, it may so prove the Prince to be no leffe in Safety with criminall penitentiaries, then be hath been amongst his subjects who have been alwaies faithfull. Secrecy and diffimulation in such points and cases, is most considerable. For if I had accused the Conspirators by a Manifesto (whether they had the Grandees, Nobles, and Commons on their party, or not,) It is certain they might have answered (as tis naturall) that they loved not to own and avow a wicked action; they might publish that this acculation (though never so true) was a Calumny to decry their party, and thereby render my integrity suspected to the greatest part of Europe. Besides, after publication they might frame better disguises then before, and so with new intentions more ably delude, and gaine their ends. But as things now are, I have understood their design by the fingle report of one who hath deciphered their intimate actions; and I am advised which way the wheel of their thoughts turned: which inspection they not discerning, I shall read within their hearts, and fee the most concealed of their intentions, and destroy them (if I please) with great facility. I may then with prudence, silence their names, and attend, without danger, their repentance, but not without perill declare the Criminalls. Yet may fome one fay, do you not believe by their spies that the Conspirators know that one of their party hath conferred with you in secret, and then they cannot but imagine that it was to betray their defignes, and confequently they conclude with themselves as much as if you had accused them openly? To that I answer, there is ever a notable difference betwixt ambiguity and certainty. Those who act not but with some doubt, do little more with precaution then if they had meerly known nothing: And those who doubt not at all, may perhaps become faithfull to my service by the sole consideration of an action so extraordinary. I know well that some men may censure that a piece of Artifice which in me is an effect of Prudence and Bounty: Policy in this case may be able to ferve to two intentions intirely different (when I please) to one end, and to explicate the most clear & apparent actions as I shall judge fit. But as Kingsought not to attribute so much to common humane prudence, as to fecret affiftances inspired to them from Heaven

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Heaven in the most emergent difficulties; I believe in the election of pardon, or punishment, secrecy, or discoveries, it is permitted indifferently to follow that way which my reason tells me is most noble, and generous, as neither thwarting with the rules of wisdom, nor oppofing the meanes of fafety. Now, if after the confideration of the Princes interest it may prove necessary to advise of the good of his succession; It is most important to an estate, that he who is to ascend the Royall Throne ought to be free from all Malice, Passion and Interest: And how can that be if the successor understand, that the Inheritors of the most illustrious houses of his Kingdome joyned in Conspiracy to take away his Fathers life? If he be a dutifull Son, and one who naturally honoured his Father, he cannot (but with difficulty) forbear to extinguish their memory; and if he be jealous and fuspitious, he will more hardly confide in their persons. Therefore Kings never ought to espouse particular interests, and when they receive the Crown by their Fathers death, it is best to bury in their Fathers Tombes all their quarrells, their depleasure and revenge; and the Successor is to guard nothing more choicely in his heart, then a Paternal love to his Subjects. It is then most necessary (when it is possible) to conceal conspiracies from those who are to succeed, least a preoccupant fear possesse their spirits, and make them commit greater overlights in rendring those uncapable as to any office or imployment, who though they have committed great Crimes, yet having repented, are more fit and able to exercise them then any others, and by this means perpetuating an Enmity between the Prince and his Subjects. Now as the relation is necessary between the one and the other, it is important as towards the Conspirators Families, that their Crimes be rather concealed then publick, chiefly when they are so notorious, that they not onely merit revenge, but spread an Infamy which deriveth a bitter tafte to future posterity. Wherefore ignominious blemishes are not to be unadvisedly branded or fixed on illustrious houses, because their race and linage are the force and strength which supporteth Crownes. The Princes in this case ought to be tender of their Glory, as a beam of his own Majesty, and as to this purpose a prudent concealment of their crimes may render more advantage then a rash discovery; for why, their faults were personall, and it may not prove found Policy to make their crimes so immortall, as not to be forgotten in any Succession of ages. This were to render them odious to the people, and to remove them from that popular respect, which being united to them, may be serviceable to the

Again, as it may prove no good policy, so it may be questioned whether it be an act of justice to make the Conspirators issue beare a part of their Auncestors punishment for their delinquency; which proceedings (unlesse Affaires of state judge them necessary) may prove very dangerous; For a King alone sormes not a Kingdome, he is but the head of that great body; the Granders (next under him) make up the more noble parts: There must then be great Caution of dishonouring and debasing too much, and too long those members, which, as the Armes and Shoulders immediately bear up the head. By all this it appears that whether we look on the safety of my person, the splendor of my Renown, the good of my Successor, or that of my Enemies, whether the

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advancement of Peace or of the State: We may eafily judge and conclude it to be more Prudence to conceale what hath (in this case) been concealed, then to publish it to the World, in which respect I shall not easily change my resolution. If mine Enemies shall continue obstinate in their Crime, I shall not fail of other pretexts, whereby to punish them, if it so happen that they fall under my power. Their being in Rebellion is a Crime sufficient to take away their lives, with Iustice, without a farther accusation of their being Paricides or Regicides: And if they be capable to correct themselves, I shall exceedingly rejoyce to have extracted fo fair an advantage out of their offence and my own filence. Moreover if they prove persons of such a condition and more noble quality, who have attempted my life, without doubt I have proceeded judiciously, as not having discovered my intentions to either pardon or punish: Seeing that as yet they are not in my power; if the Conspirators were men of the middle rank, it were then superfluous to divulge their names, whose persons are so obscure as scarce known, and if they were men of the lowest qualitie, it would reflect with too much dishonor on Royall Majestie, to descend to all exact discovery of such low shrubbs, who like Bryers and Thorne's have been bound up together in such a black Conspiracy. He who keepeth the hearts of Kings in his own hands, reserveth Lightning and Thunder in his own poxer, which he can let fall (when he pleafeth) to their defruction who shall oppresse their Prince. It is meet to referre some parts of Justice, to the God of Vengeance, and not to prefume on the exercise of all power he befloweth on us. I fay not this but with resolution, that if the authors of the Conspiracy were in my hands; I should severely chastise them, yet not for their particular injury to my person, but for their impardonable crime against the King of Castile, which punishment were not only requisite for the safety of my selfe, but likewise of my successors. So then, if they were in my present power, their punishments should be as notorious and remarkable as their Crime; But feeing I am the onely person alive, who can accuse them, I shall forbear, and rather prevent (if I can) their evill designes: As for those who shall continue obdurate and obstinate, I shall be revenged on them otherwise, Taking pleasure to pardon those who do repents And I value it not a little satisfaction to save and preserve the honor of so many great Families, and thelives of fo many persons, rejoycing at the Conquests of my own affections in this Provocation which renders to me no small Victory.

In all other occasions it is dangerous to have the Witnesse to be the Judge, but in this case it is most advantageous to my Enemies, that I alone can accuse them of their Crimes, which if known, my secret could neither preserve them nor me: I could not longer be Master of that particular, because the Laws would importune my Justice. But seeing heaven is pleased, that he who revealed their crime is already dead, I shall onely be the Arbitrator of their Destiny, and convert my power to no other service then to afford means to amend, and reclaim them from their wicked course. It is true in this Conjuncture, that the Royall authority which I have in my hands leads me nearer to the Tirone of Cod, who knows the most secret crimes of all hearts, but sorbears publish them. He brands not the wicked with particular Marks, but leaves to heir Malice lockt up within the circle of their own hearts. And it often

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falls out, that his terrible Judgements which cause us to tremble here, iferetell hose great punishments which the wicked may for their reward expett hereafter. Some fay, that secresie is one of the most essentiall Attributes of the Divinity, and it is by it alone whereby it is presented more adorable, and more venerable with men. Doe not admire then if I onely be content to know my E. nemies without their discovery; seeing I have learnt this practice from God himself, who courteth us to his curtesies; as well as receives addresses from those who he draws unto himsand whom he is so far from punishing, that he promotes not so much as a particular accufation against them. Permit me then (most generous Count) permit me (I fay) to leave the care of my revenge to him who best knowes how to useit. If he please that my Enemies shall be converted out of shame, and self confusion, he can do it by wayes unknown to us. And as he hath given me power to be filent, he can force them to speake, and accuse each other then when they least dreame of it. Come on then, let us march and fight without accusing them. Let us not impede, nor dishonour the Victory at which we ayme in discovering them to be Paricides: Let us act with Princely resolution, and not longer deferre our power: Let us exercise our strength that we may have occasion to use our Clemencie: And let us make the World see that it is far more glorious to conceal and conquer our fecret adversaries, then barely to pardon our declared enemies.

The Censure.

N the diversity of opinions of severall judgments, when I consider this action of the King of Castile, I confesse I agree with him, and I acknowledge his Choice the better. There are some diseases which are not curable but by gentle remedies, which (as the Physitians say) will prove more dangerous with application of Corrolives. When the body hath an arm or legg putrified, the Chirurgion may imploy his knife, or feare with fire, or cut off the rotten member to preferve the rest but when the whole falls into an indisposition, and that the more noble parts are infested, the Physitian and Chirurgion would not onely be censured ralb, but mad, if they should undertake to cure an infirmity or distemper above the force of Art and Nature, and which did almost require a Miracle to recover it. It is not good to force an Enemy into despair, if a man have not absolute power to destroy him. The extremity of perill (as this Prince said) causeth often the greatest Cowards to become desperately valiant. And many, who would willingly make a fair retreat from mischief, if they could assure themselves of security by being unknown, resolve to venture the worst of hazards if discovered. The Scripture counselleth, be ye wise as Serpents: and if this Counsell be neceff ary to any, it is principally to Kings; The Egyptians in their Hierogly. phicks placed an eye on the top of their Scepter, to represent Providence, and to advise Kings in that Royall Embleme: This eye alwaies open, taught them that they could not too carefully regard what they intended to A&; The King of the Bees hath no sting (as the naturalists observe) which teacheth Princes not to be transported with the violence of their passions, and to meditate rather on Clemency, as more naturall, then on rigour which nature declines. I know not whether those who presented Iustice with a Ribband

to blind her eyes have made a judicious piece: For my part I think the contrary, that she sees not too clear. I should rather have given her Argus eyes, then the tlindnesse of Oedipus, or of Tirelias, if I had painted ber ; and in my opinion the Lynx ought not to fee better then Kings, who bold the Sword of Justice in their hands : And for Princes to Strike when they cannot fee , and to weigh in the Scales and not differn how the Beam turnes, are actions that can listle satisfie, and reliss not of any reason. I know Antiquity intended by this Ribband, that Justice ought to be done without respect of persons, but it were bet:er to present her as a Goddesse, whose sight nothing could obstruct, and whose knowledge might whi sper into her he arers continually a caution to hinder unjust proceedings. It is necessary then that Kings permit not themselves to be blinded with their paffions : And they are naturally to weigh with the Scales of Judgement the things which they determine: And if their Sword be usefull, it is no othermise then as that of the Chirurgeons, they may rescinde one member to save the rest, not destroy the whole to cut off a part. But as it is now tru, that I may make use of that Figure which Rhetoricians call Transition, and passe from one subject to another, and so from Physitians and Chirurgeons to diseases and curess we shall leave the discourse of DONHENRY, and visit a sick Prince who became his own Physitian, DONSANCHE, though he never had his health after he came to the Throne of Castile (equally afflicted by the ewils of Fortune , and nature) yet at length, deposed from his Throne by the Injustice of his enemies, he enjoyed healthfull dayes. In this discourse we shall examine whether he gained or lost more by this strange vicissitude, and

whether the condition of a private person in health; is preferrable to a Throne attended

with continuall sicknesse.



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DON SANCHE TO COVNT GARCIA OF CABRA.



Acknowledge as well as you (most Generous Count) that this wanton Fortune, who hath removed mee from a Kingdome, and restored my health (which I never enjoyed whilst I possessed the Crown) must as necessarily work extraordinary alterations in my soul, (Contraries never meeting but they effect something) And with as much reason as she hath raised wonder in yours:

& a curiofity which (as I have observed) I shall rather satisfie then condemne. Will you then that I discover in what condition I finde my foule after so strange an event? And whether the griefe for what I have loft, finkes not deeper into my heart then the joy for the benefit that I have received by the exchange? It is certaine (to speake the truth) that the Philosophy of the Stoicks (which teacheth men to be without all Passion) is not sufficient to restrain all grief in such a stupendious alteration, as falling from a royall Throne to the low condition of a private person: Yet it is true that a descent from the highest degree of honour, and power is lesse ingrate, and unpleasant, and more tolerable to a rational mind, where the condition chiefly ferveth for the recovery of health, which is a treasure so pretious to bee enjoyed with the least disgust or regret, as being the chiefe comfort of mans life, and therefore most universally sought after. All the advantages of Fortune and Nature have not so generall an esti-We find some ambitious soules have assired to , and usurped Crowns and Scepters; others have refused these royall dignities, as places too precipitious, and too full of cares and troubles. Some torment themselves with the gain of riches, hazarding their lives to fill their baggs, which others (as more wife) doe leffe regard and value. Glory with all its plendor is leffe regarded by perfons devoted to piety; And some as seriously shunne those glistering beams as others follow and advre them. In fine, Some look on a Throne as a high and dangerour Rock ; on Riches as a bait to Vice; on Glory as a disposition to pride, and vanity: Nay even Beauty (which seemes to be a beam of Divinity it self) is looked on but as a great evill, when it is not accompanied with modesty and virtue. But for health; it is a Jewell which is of the highest price with Prince and peopleswith Philosophers and Fooles; never was there yet any person found which did not put an infinite valuation on her above all concomitants of this life. We meet with one fort of Philosophers who had the impudency to affirme, that there was effectively no such thing as grief. But without doubt the same Phifopher

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when he lott his health, had his Principles shaken, and his content and joy were changed into griefe and sadnesse In the mean time (to fatistic you more amply) you are not to consider me meerly as a King, but as a private person to whom a birth and death is equally common with the meanest of my subjects; in which capacitie our resentments are the same. It is true, in relation to our divine Character (which is inseparable from Royalty) wee are farre above them. But in respect of God, and our selves, we are sometimes their equals, and may bee their inferiors. Wee participate with them of all the infirmities of life, and as we enjoy the same Sunne and Elements in common, so we have not other Armes then they to guarde us from humane passions, and the debilities of Nature. Guards of faithfull Subjects may defend their Prince from the Treason of a Paricide, but an Army of thirtie thousand men cannot hinder the stroak of death, nor one fit of a Feaver: Death will enter the stateliest and strongest Palace (without refistance) when she pleaseth; and the most beautifull, and magnificent glory cannot asswage the least pain or anguish: Diadems, Purple, and Crowns are unserviceable ornaments to cure the diseases of the body: And I have found my felf often in a Princely Palace, lin a magnifick Chamber, lying in a bed glittering all with gold, environ'd with the Grandees of my Kingdome, where all my attendance defigned nothing else but my diversions and ease: When in the midst of all these seeming contents, I judged my selfthe most miserable of all men, envying the health of the meanest of my subjects: Death which Ihave often contemned in the midst of battailes, in this condition looked grim and formidable : And when I could neither fight nor retreat, give battail, or refift the Enemy; I found that I was as well aman as a King; and (upon just consultation with my felf) that it wis very difficult to be a fick Patient, and a found Polititian, to govern the people, being personally weak, and in a great disorder's and not to be exceeding miferable when all pleasures had a bitter rel'ilb. Dath (as terrible as she is) will command and make Kings and Subjects equall, her businesse being to levell all alike. But in this case Kings are not onely afflicted as other men being lick, but more unfortunate. The chiefest point then (in this condition) is to feek after health, which is interrupted by Secretaries, who interrupt every minute of repose, and persecute with multitude of affairs, as well as Physicians with prescriptions of various remedies. The deprivation of pleasure and augmentation of pain are equally tormenting. A fick Prince judgeth by the contenance of his Visitors the variety of all their humours, which rather encreafeth then allayeth his passion; he readeth their desires in their faces. Some for their own ends fear his death, and others wish it: In this sad condition he is more unfortunate then any of his Subjects, as not enjoying any pleasure of a King. The higher he is advanced and elevated on the Throne, the greater must his desires be: The Crown seemes too heavie, yet he cannot when he pleafeth quit that burthen; the Scepter too ponderous for his feeble hand, and his affairs permit him not honourably to part with what he cannot hold but painfully. In this quality he is willing to act, but cannot ; to reign, but is made incapable. In these impossible contrarieties he can easily judge what is the greatest affliction can arrive to a King, and that is to be deprived of health. For imagine with your selves to what a deplorable extremity is a Prince

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Prince reduced, when a Counfellor shall tell him (being fick and sad with pain) that his Subjects have revolted, that his Neighbour Princes have invaded his Territories, that his Generall hath loft the Battell, that many of his Townes have furrendred themselves to the Enemy, that a pannick terror hath feized upon his people, that his Troopes have disbanded for want of a chiefe Commander, that a puissant Army is on their march to befiedge him, that his Allies keep not their faith, and that within a few daies (before he could remove) he should hear the noise of the Canons playing before his Gates, that his Palace shall become his prison, and that notwithstanding his sicknesse gives him neither free choice of life or death, he shall yet fall into a lower extremity of mifery, and be reduced to the power and pleasure of his enemy: Tell me (noble Garcia) if a Crown in such a condition be defirable; and Royalty (though never so magnificent) to bee valued at fuch a rate and degree worthy of envy? All those who are ambitious to bee Kings are not (doubtlesse) without the passion of desiring glory mixt with pleasure, but of what glory or pleasure is that Prince capable whole constant businesse is to support his infirmities? And who inflead of the delights of a Crown cannot enjoy a moment of repose? If the Prince be evill, it is not possible but a remorfe for his crimes must intermixe with his Maladies to increase his torments: If he be good and virtuous, it is impossible but that he shall be afflicted, being incapable to act in his Kingly office for the repose and conservation of his people: At least I know well, during this languishing condition, being on the Throne, nothing can be more insupportable then to understand that that sickness is the infirmity of the State sand that I fuffer not a fingle paine, but that the difease becomes contageous to all the subjects. It is true these griefes of body which daily obscure the light of my understanding, (if I may reason without prejudice to former passages) I confess freely are not onely insupportable to my self, but to all my affairs, and it may be censured a fault, that finding my felf unfit to Reign, I did not choose to govern by the affiltance and nomination of my Successor: but the jealouse which ordinarily attendeth Soveraign authority, prevailed with me in my resolutions, not to nominate that to him, whom I feared as more worthy: I rather chose to support a Scepter with a feeble and trembling hand, then admit of a Coadjutor, and to fuffer that to bee taken from mee rather by violence, then to be ecclipfed by a super officious-affistant, who would convert my Soveraignty intirely to his own service and splendor. Lo (most noble Count) the crime for which I am culpable, and such a one as all Kings ought to avoyd who are rendered uncapable to reign by their diseases, or who shall find themselves impersect through their owe infirmities: For a Prince (whom fuch evils do obstruct; or who through that leffer Talent which God hath given him for the conduct of the people, is not able to discharge that high office with honour) is responsible before God for all the evils which may happen through his defective Government, or at least if he choose not an able Minister of State who may supply aremedy in these great failings: And it is for that reason (without doubt) that Princes are obliged, whether they be fick or well, of stronger or weaker judgements, to have ever near them faithfull and wife Counfellors, to whom they may communicate a beam of their power, to that end that it may not

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tail. That if the Princes be weak, their judgement may support them, and if not, that they may refresh them, and so contribute some leasure for their repose, after their grand agitations, in such great concernment. God (whose Image are Kings) atis not alwaies by his judgements or those terrible means, which feem more directly and suddainly to fall from his hand: Those violent plagues which desolate whole Countries, come not every year; God imployes not alwaies his Thunderclaps, nor Famine, nor dreadfull Earthquakes, which shake the foundation of the World: Such punishments (being very heavy) arrive but rarely. He ferves himself sometimes with Princes, whom he commands to wage a Warre, against those whom he pleaseth to prove or punish; And then (when hee pleaseth also) to be propitious to a people or Country, he doth not alwaies shew his mercy in cauling Manna to raine on them, or manifest himself by miracles. He pleafeth himfelf somtimes to fend vertuous Princes, appointing them to be the distributors of his Blessings, as (on other occasions) he directs them to be the Executioners of his Justice. Let Princes therefore cease to be jealous of their Authority; And since God (without any obligation) is pleased to use them as his instruments, let them not scorne (especially fince their own necessities and concernments oblige them toit) to make use of Faithfull Ministers, who are the absolute foundation of Thrones and Kingdome. For those Princes who are fo fortunate as to meet with them, (of this glorious quality) may defie Fortune and diseases, and not fear the confusion of their King. dom, when they languish on their Couches. It is good for a King to resemble the Sun whose office is to inlighten all the universe Yet this Noble imployment (which the Creator hath given him) doth not make the illustrious Creature jealous of the beames and beauty of other stars, which in their severall Spheares of their Activity distribute their light which they have received; as well, though not as bright as that great eye of the World. Yet is there a distinction to be allowed betwixt the chief Minister which the Prince chooseth, and another which aspireth to that trust (moved by his own ambitious defires) the first is like a fixed Star, the other as a blazing Comet, which at present, casteth a stupendious and mervailous light, but the slame borrowed from a wrong Source, is exstinguisht in a moment; On the contrary the fixed Star which is luminous, retaines its splendor and brightnesse aslong as the Originall light shall impart his beams unto it. Things thus stated, one may say, that the Pompe and glory, which the Sun receives, when he is set, (when in the night we see the Heavensadorned with radiant Starrs the Prince, when the beames of his active power are obscured with sicknesse, enjoyeth; though he do not act in his own person, but by those to whom he hath communicated the Rayes of his power; And in them he still retaineth his Grandure and Honour: But alas, I confidered not the depth of this Policy, untill I had lost my Kingdom; And after I was rendred into a condition to be able to do nothing elfe, but examine my felf whether I should be more happy in my health without a Crown, or else should continue a fick and languishing Prince. I am affured (Generous Count) by this discourse that you can easily judge, that the Crown which I wore was platted with Thornes; And if I should grudge at my losse, it is not for the deprivation of those pleasures I have received. Yet if I had loft

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lost it after the defeat of a battail, if I had then met with this fad fatisfaction, to make mine Enemies see (in my couragious defence) that I had deserved to wear it; And that though they gained the Victory, it was because they were more fortunate, and not more Valiant then I; some matter might have been found for my Consolation. But to have languished so long a time as you have known me; incapable of the pleasure of peace, and constrained to quit the Warre, because not able to be in the head of my Armies, and to see my self stript of the Crown and Scepter without a defensive power, to guard those Emblems of Royallty; This confideration affecteth me with griefe and pain unsupportable. If I were in an active condition, it may be some signall occasion might make me fortunate so far, as to provoke mine Enemies valour by mine own, and to oblige them to force me to hazard and loofe my life gloriously. But the infirmities of my body have made me unfit to Reign, and almost to live: and nothing but a prodigious accident can recover my health after that I have lost all things that are dear to me. I shall now relate to you with what joy I have feen this civill Warre of my body to cease, which continued my griefe for so long a time. It will not prove so easie for me to describe to you the regrett I had in the losse of mine estate, if you had not been an eye witnesse of what I suffered. Imagine then your self, by those troubles I endured, what repose and tranquillity I now possesse. Not but that I easily believe that the continuation of health may abate much of this high content and joy which I now feel; Nor that an accustomed subjection will not in time make me forget my being King. But really if I should be restored to the Crown with the attendance of my infirmitie, I should not accept it; more valuing health without a Crown, then to be an infirm King unable to Reign. Tis true, ambition is sweet, and that nothing is more difficult, then for a King to make his Subjects his Peers. But when I shall be as insensible as a Statue through the violence of my difeases; the interest of the people and Christian Policy would teach me to refuse that Crown which would as much prejudice them as it would dishonor my felf. The Ambitious may object, that it is a great losse, to be deprived of a Crown; But to that I answer, it is no great advantage to bear it without honor, and to have no Fruits, but distemper in such eminent dignity, They will say, that the torture of the body may be born up, by the fatisfaction of the mind; But I answer to the contrary, that the purest contemplations of the Soul are troubled by the indisposition of the Body. There is a bond of nature which so strictly unites both parties, that nothing can divide their interest, and, if at any time there be any difference, there is much more from the indisposition of the body, then from the diffatisfaction of the mind. How many great and noble Soules have we seen so resolved, that the most violent oppolitions could not shake into disorder, and their vexations so moderated, as not to distemper their health to an alteration? Many have lost their Children who have never chang'd their countenance, and good or bad Fortune hath not prevailed against their composure, because their reason was not disturbed. But as for Corporall paine, when it is such, as the Physition cannot ease nor cure with all his art; It must needs operate and have such an influence upon the soul, as fift give her not an absolute distemper, it will (at least) shrewdly shake

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the Patient. Servitude, Poverty, and Infamy, are more tollerable; but for extremities of pain, they infallibly banish all pleasure and joy. Love, Ambition, Glory, can yeild no peaceable satisfaction to a sick persons and though the Soul be the more noble part, yet in such vi olent fits, no other vertue hath its operation, but Patience. And how imperially soever the Soul may brag of her Superiour excellency; There rests nothing to be acted (on such occasions) but what are the effects of that vertue. Corporall pain ariseth from a naturall or accidentall infirmity in man, but the vexations and anxieties of the mind, are voluntary, and meerly depend on the will. Soveraignty not Royally managed, is a supreme difgrace, and to have a Scepter which he cannot fway, is as if a Souldier wear a fword and cannot draw it. Policie which supporteth Kingdomes is but a bad Physitian, and cares which attend them are not Remedies and applications for the recovery of health. Mortality is but a weak Comforters And as for the Jewell of health, it is not so much prised as it ought; all other things are attended with some inquietude, as Riches, Honour, power. Ambition is inflamed with new desires, love is attended with jealousie, care watcheth the Rich mens Gates, who have more vexation in their Possession then content and satisfaction; health alone is observed ordinarily with least solicitude and observation. Yet to conclude (as one able to judge, out of a long languishing experience) I cannot but preferre health above a Scepter, the one causing me ever to sweat or figh, the other rendring me cheerfull and pleafant, though never fo low. Ask menot then (Noble Count) whether choice I better approve, seeing the Memory of those outcryes passed, force me to praise God for a more comfortable alteration.

The Censure.

It is an ancient Aphorism, that If a man did but know the weighty-nes of a Crown, he would not so much as take it up, though he found it in his way. If this opinion be true seven in those who merit well, and are in health's it is no leffe for Princes that are indisposed: As the gifts of Nature are more excellent then those of Fortune, so are they by every well regulated foul preferred before them; nor are the greatest advantages of a Crown to be put into the ballance with the miseries that attend them. The Diademe, the Scepter; the Crown, the Throne, are glorious objects which tickle, and sweetly please the imagination: But when the torments of the Gout, the Colick, and the extreamities of other diseases, wholly possesse the Patient, and are placed in opposition to those glorious and lighter Fancies,a healthfull Slave is far more happy then a royall King. In the midst of such Grandeur, Princes seated in such a condition (though never so illustrious) are like Tantalus, who in their abundance are not admitted to taste of any thing that may yeeld them ease, or content: So that what should raise their felicity encreaseth their punishment, being yet more miserable that they can command all things, but nothing to their proper use; when the paine they suffer mixeth gall and bitternesse with all sweet appearances of their Scepters. The Gout and Stone consute the Stoicks, who deny all paine and passion: And I am of opinion, that a King (though never so magnificent,) is deprived of all earthly

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comforts or enjoyments, suffering under the extremities of a disease. I cannot but compare the condition of fick Princes to those direfull Scaffolds which are richly cover'd with black Velvet, and (for greater state) have the splendor of Torches to conduct a Prince to his execution: This funeral pomp imprints sime respect of his missortune to all spectators, but they do not attenuate his miseries. It is thus with the magnificence of Princes, it seemes to flourist, and causeth admiration, it attracteth reverence, but all this glory is not sufficient to render him a happy man who is a fick King, though he were the Emperour of all the Universe. Grandure can have no more then the effects of Dormant and Narcotique remedies: some intermissive moments of sleep may suspends but cannot heal the violence of the disease, which will return, in its Course. How unfortunate then is a Prince who in great conjunctures of Affaires, bath scarce leasure to be fick, though he cannot meet with one minute wherein he is sensible of health He bears a burthen fo great, that it would cause Atlas to jeild, whilf he finds himself daily growing weak, and his spirits every minute decaying; His occasions call him to every part, but his difeases oblige him constantly to his bed, and whereas he ought to see and seek about to order and command, in-stead of these royall imployments, he is able to doe nothing but complaine. He is (in fine) in this condition, a meere object of putty or scorne; where he ought to appear awfull and formidable and therefore I conclude that Don Sanche had reason to preferre his health above his Crown, and to consolate bin felf in the loffe of the one, by the confideration of the Importance of the other. A King ought to die standing on his feet, was the speech of a Royall Prince, and certainly if he ought to be found dying in this posture, much more ought he to appear so living; since that without health Kings are not easily obeyed, nor can their Reign be happy. We find some generalls who have gained battailes in their Litters: but I think we have not read of any Monarchs who have raigned gloriously on their bedds, unlesse it be these Bedds of Justice, where Majesty, not Maladies appear. Kings in their Thrones are as that univerfall spirit which the Greeks called Endelechia. If their influence be not over all their Dominions, all gues ill, and if they be fick, all parts presently grow distempered. But let us leave now the Kings of Castile, and direct our discourse to a King of Portugall. It may be the ambitious will judge it no lese a Paradox then that of DON SANCHE, and that they will believe him as fick in mind as the other was in body. But I conceive judicious persons wil not be of their opinion; and that true policy will condemn their errors. Emanuell the first leavied a most puissant Army, with a design to passe into Affrica, where Victory seemed to attend him: When as being upon his march, and just ready to transport his Army over those streights which divide Spain & Mauritania; The Venetians dispatch: Embassadors to intreat succors from him as their Ally, against the Turk, who had now declared war against them. This generous Prince refolutely suspended his hopes of Conquest to assist his antient Friends, Suddainly altered his design, and sent his Army intirely to them,

deferring his enterprise to Algiers to another season. See here the reasons which obliged this illustrious Prince to his resolution, and the

true Motives of so glorious an action.

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Am not ignorant (Menefais) that the defign of Conquests is as naturall in Kings, as life it self in other men: Yet I likewise know that Glory ought not to be the only object of their sublime passion: And if they judge it as proper to succour and assist their Allyes, as to create new subjects; Then the quality of Protectors is as honorable as the Titles of Conquesors. It

is in this noble refentment that I have changed my refolution: And though I have ingaged the greatest part of my Grandees into Armes, and covered the Sea with Ships, with a design to extend my Dominions over all Barbarie: I am (this day) otherwise resolved to succour the Venetians, and not farther to intend my designed Conquests. But have you well examined the matter? (you may tell me in this occasion) It may be, the fad Complaints of your Allyes have surprised your thoughts; whereas had you pursued your own inclinations, or followed the heat of your own ambitions; You had not then quitted your former design to take up another, which (probably) will not increase but diminish your subjects with a disadvantage as unprofitable as dangerous. No (Menefais) I took not up this refolution in a tumult of passions, but have most seriously examined the reasons and inforcements to this alteration. And after a more solemn debate, I find that Justice, Generosity, Wisdome, and true Renown, have possessed my heart, and prevailed with me, in this perswasion, to invite me to act as I have undertaken. I do avow withall, that these mighty Forces, which I have raised (though very formidable) have not so elevated my hopes to new Conquests, as my defires inflame me to defend my Allies, though I might with greater ease have subdued the Barbars, then have protected the Christians. It is most true, the endeavour of Conquests is an honorable ambition, very active in the hearts of all high born and generous Princes. And as the first Kings began their Raignes, and inlarged their Domination by their Conquests, and have derived them on the People and Subjects. There feemes a kind of Noble Princelike necessity to oblige them to a Correspondency of their first honorable Comencements. So that (in some degrees both of wifedom and Policy) Princes are bound to expatiate the Grandure of their Territories and Dominions; And it could not but reflect as an indignity, and some dishonor to Successors, to confine themselves within the

limits of their Ancestors. The alterations, and fignall changes (difcernable in all Histories) seeme to authorize what is here affirm-And the successes of Ages (which have seen the ruines of so many Monarchies, and Empires) witnesse to these times, the great numbers of Conquerors which have appeared in all Agess so that the Allyrians, the Perfians, the Parthians, the Greeks, the Romans, advanced not their names, nor inlarged their Dominations but by conquests; and (at last) were not destroyed but by the same meanes that they were established: The fall of one Empire ever giving occasion to the rise of another; whilst in the great conjuncture of all disorders, it may be faid. that either Princ s became Tyrants, and were oppreffors, or Subjetts became Rebels and traiteroufly oppreffed their Soveraignes: And in all Ages past, the ambition of Conquests hath been the most violent passion in all minds which have aimed at Soveraignty. Subjects are of more confined qualities, limited with proportions amongst their neighbors, inflaved to Laws, and limited to some certain parcels, descending to them as their Fathers heirs, to exceed which, were as much danger as Injustice. But Soveraigns are confined, and their usurpations more tolerable and innocent, because of their eminent and high degree above other men, and their proximity to supernal and coelestiall power. We declare then (noble Alenefais) that it is not for petty confideration ons that we prefer the title of Protector above that of Conqueror. though Princes are ranked as highest in quality, and so above all others; yet they are not (being Christians) so much to regard their ambition as Justice. As for titles, and even those which feem derived from the Princes greatest virtues, the subjects challenge a communication of them; and they will difpute, that JusT is an Epethite as wel belonging to a Magistrate as a royal Prince; that VALIANT belongs as well to a private Souldier as to the Emperour: All the virtues are as habitable, and as content to dwell with the meanest Subject as the mightiest Monarchi and 'tis true, that all United cannot fet forth the Majesty and splendor of a Soveraign; he who saies one is fust, concludes not necessarily that he is a King, or that one who is Valiant must needs be a Monarch; but he who faith he is a Conqueror, concludes that title which can onely belong to an illustrious Prince. The power of the Sword which protecteth or punisheth, is onely reserved in their hands who are invested with supreame Authority; Subjects are not to transgress the Landmarks of their Neighbours; they are Slaves to Laws, and confin'd to the inheritance and patrimony of their Fathers; the Prince alone hath liberty (with innocency more excusable) to enlarge his Territories. This enterprize then is not grounded on flender confiderations, that I suspend the possibility of the title of Conqueror to merit that of Protestor; and though the great splendor of that high quality hath inflam'd the Illustrious Heroes of antiquity, and lessened their dangers through their ambitious desires, yet a Christian Prince ought not so much to aim and attend on his ambition, as to incline to Justice: So then, that which was permitted to the Valour of Alexander, is here defended by the courage of Emanuel. Our Policy excludes not any other particular virtues from our fouls, but fo, that in all our enterprises we ought to be equitable, and severely to banish Injustice. Which Conclusion admitted, it was now much more proper to succour my Allies, then to endeavour a subjection of the Barbares : For as

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it is with all men in generall, who live in a civil fociety, that a mutual interchange of good offices is necessary amongst them; fort is between Princes and States, and their Allies; a common Interest obligeth them to oppose the Enemies of their Allies, as well as their own; and not to suffer those with whom they have made an undoubted amity, to be devoured by the War, or to forfake them at the approach of danger and perif. You doubt not (Menefais) but after the compleate Equipage of this mighty royall Navy, if I should have received advice, that some of my Neighbour Princes had invaded me, I should quickly have steered another course: And why then shall not the Interest of my Allies do the same thing, seeing that I am no lesse obliged to their defence then to my own? The facred alliance which is amongst Prinas cannot be violated without injury to the rights and Laws of Nations; and it were most unjust in me to expect succours from them to whom I did not intend any. Princes ought not to promise amity, and after to forfeit their facred words with fraud, and infidelity; and being able to relieve, they cannot (with hononr) leave their friends to the fury of their enemies, and the haters of all Christianity. It is true, it is a great glory to conquer, but it is more honourable and necessary to keep a royall promise inviolable and facred. It is no dishonour to attempt a Conquest though it be not obtained: But a man can never violate his word and promise without the blemish of baseness and fallhood; an act so unworthy of a Prince, that he ought to detest it above all things. For if he faile in his Fidelity to his Allies; what doth he but teach his Subjects to be as false and fraudulent as himself? And I confesseas Justice pleads with me for the Venetians; so Generositie and Noblenesse prevails with mee to accord to their humble requests: For (with your good favour) tell me with what resolution could our Army march to subdue strangers, if we had refused affistance where there was so great necessity of ayd, and such eminent peril of the ruin of our friends? Should it be said, that I marched further from an Enemy into other parts, because hee came nearer towards our Allies? Or that I durst not engage my Forces, as if those of the Enemyes were too formidable? Am Ia Neighbour at fuch distance that I cannot succour speedily in the accesse of their greatest calamities? Doth it concern me, that I endeavour to pillage Alcas arquiber because Bajazet intends to pillage Venice with his army? all these arguments are unworthy a Christian Prince, who aspires after the quality of Justice, as well as that of Conqueror. Noble minds are not onely obliged to endeavour the Victories of Towns, Provinces; and Kingdomes, but they are likewise to gain the peoples hearts, and thereby oltain an universall approbation, which will convert tumults to concords, and raife glorious acclamations resounding to their honour who know to merit them. And what action doe you imagine can be so capable to render a Crown immortall, as that which relieves a Republick of Christians terrified with an army of more then one hundred thousand Turks? Upon all other occasions, when a Prince is engaged in War, he cannot expect honour and commendations from all the World: For as for those whom hee invadeth, they will stile him an Usurper, his neighbour Princes will censure his ambition, and rather be spectators of his succeffes, then be supplyers; and according to event they will speak in fear or flattery. But in such an action as this, no ill censure can succeed. Those who are interested will estimate us as their Liberators; other Kings

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Kings wil behold us far more eminent for our fortune, or more surpassant for our vertue and valour : & Bajazet himself (though an Enemy) cannot lesse esteem us. And truly to relieve the oppressed and feeble resistants, being our Allies, is a far more generous action, then to abase a puissant and formidable enemy. Is it not true (Menefais) that if in your journey you shall meet with one man assaulted by three or four, and that he should cry out for your assistance (though he were a stranger, and your business urgent) could you refuse to stay, or affist him? ought not the same noblenesse of mind be in a King which is usuall in every private person out of the rules of humanity, and naturall compassion? Should I then leave mine Allies in their extremity to be a prey to the fury of an Enemy? This undertaking presents a double reward to the noble undertaker; the one is, sustentation of the feeble; the other is, the suppression of the mighty: And (if heaven please) he shall repel the one with as much shame, as gain of glory to his own endeavours. I may adde moreover, that Justice and Generofity united, are the most Royall virtues, the fureft supporters, and the mifeft Counsellors of a King. Some other Rules of Policy may pretend to be the sole guides, as instructing them whether to make Peace or War, and to give orders to all their actions. It is confest that Policy is the royall Science, and compasseth her ends in great undertakings; but her Maxims are dangerous for them who have not righteous intentions. Policy is like love, which changeth her form according to their receptions who entertain her. She proves unjust in a jealous preoccupated spirit, she becomes furious in the violent, she appeareth base and comardly in a person of lesse interest, but she is almaies reasonable in a noble & generous mind. In what foever drefs she's found, she courteth her expedients, and platters those with whom she consulteth to give a colour and varnish to her designs. Yet in this conjuncture of affairs the cannot disswade me from aiding the Venetians, who, were they ruined, what advantage should Iget, or what danger incur? I know well the Turks are so to more in distance, that I cannot rationally fear the enemies Invasion can extend as far as my Kingdom. But it is the Interest of all Christian Princes to repell the Forces of the Turk, who is already too puiffant over Christendom; and all Kings ought deeply to refent an oppolition of the Grand Seigniors Forces, who is daily inriched with the Spoyles and plunder of Christians: Hisunlimited ambition aiming at the destruction of all Kingdomes, and aspiring to establish an universall Empire and Monarchy. It is not onely for the Venetians sakes that mine armies shall march, but as I look on their Enemy as the Enemy of all the Christian world. If all Princes were so prudent as they ought to be, they would not think that the Venetians were first undertaken, because they were more hateful to the Turks then others, but it is to make a passage by them to further extensions, to leave no enemy in the rear to march after, and so to flank or offend. design then all other Christian Kings have their common Interest, though I (at present) be more active, and more ready in preparation You know (Menefair) when Kings make great preparations for War, they alarum their neighbour Princes to arms, left they should be surprised, lest the publick Faith should not prove sufficiently puissant to assure and to remove all fears and jealousies. It being so then that all Christian Princes know how that Bajazet hath levied an army of 100000 men, why have they not armed themseives as well as

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he for their Conservation. If they can be so stupid as to be false to their Allies, or carelesse of their brethren and Christians. In the meane time I shall oppose these numerous Forces, though I march alone: And by confequence I alone shall be charged with the successe of this Warre: Who, had I refused, the Venerians might have been justly condemned by other Princes, who shadowing their excuses with pretences and accusations of their neighbours might say as had they been in the same posture as I, they would have done no leffe. Now as there rent of Warre is ever ambiguous, if in stead of Conquering Barbary, 1 should miscarry in this enterprise, with what Clouds of shame shall I be obscured? From the Honour of a Conqueror I may be reduced to be a Prisoner. From the hopes of being a Protector I may be rendred a Captive, and instead of the Garland of Glory be rewarded with the brand of infamie; my Friends and mine Enemies might equally fcorn me, because I provoked the one and the other, my discretion would be in question, preferring an uncertain before an assured path to true honour. For there is this infallible difference betwixt the designes of conquest and affistance to Allies: The first cannot be glorious but with a victorious successe of VVarre, but the other of it self is natively honourable, and from thence springs a Fountain of reputation, though the event prove not so Fortunate. I know well that all who promise to be Protestors of their Allies, are not ever their Liberaturs in their neceffity. But though their Allies be Vanquished, and those who strive to affift them, yet their misfortune is honorable, and that reward followes their memory, that they share of their danger onely, not of their disgrace. And though the Allies and their assistants have a joynt defeat, their miseries may deprive them of their lives or liberties; but they are still faithfull friends, having gained a generous reputation in using their best and utmost endeavours. If then I preferre my March to Venice, before my voyage to Africa, I have not done lesse honorables for if I should have been invaded by mine Enemies, of whom should I have expected succours in the like condition? Of what danger might this resolution have proved? If I had forsaken the Venetians, and exposed to the fury of the Turks, those who are a people that adore the same God with uss And at the feet of his Altars might powre out innocent imprecations against us for our refusall; What might my subjects think if I should not compassionate their Condition? Might not they object that if the interest of Religion did not oblige me to my duty, that they might shake off theirs out of the same respect? It might be that some of our Provinces possessed with Rebellion, might take example from my felfe, and neglect and forfake me as I might my Allies. Perhaps my design of Conquest of other Countries might prove the occasion of losing mine own Royall Inheritance, and the abandoning my Allies in their extremities, and a dishonourable violation of the lawes of Nations, might raife a provocation in all neighbour Princes against my person; And (my absence removing their fears) might perswade them to invade a part of (if not all) my Kingdom. For when Kings do leavy Armies, and intend to wage war, they alwaies frame a pretence and reason for their martiall Comportments, in which design common Policy never faileth, and where evry is the Counsellor, infinite maliciout pretences are never manting. This rightly confidered, a fage prevision finds it better to commit a hundred things unprofitable, then to per-

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petrate one act injurious and offensive to an Equall. And 'tis true, the removall of an injurious pretence from a Prince, might occasion the diversion of an Army, which might have been leavied against those who had not kept Faith with their Allies. All the great revolutions which have arrived in Kingdoms and Empires, have had but petty and small Commencements. And uncertain Policy hath no fuch grounded rules as to affure any security; For when the hath laboured most, and promised to warrant an estate from a pulstant enemie, and that nothing without, or within, should trouble or shake the foundations of a Kingdom; wee finde from what little sparks mighty flames have thriven. Perhaps the love of a woman, or a subject of a mean quality made a favourite, or some sharpe refentment, sometimes a misprision or mistake hathset division amongst the Nobles; that diffention hath generated hatred and envy, that envy hath introduced revolt, these revolts leavied Armes. and made Warre, and that Warre destroyed the Kingdom. That is, then, true Policy, and infallible, when all things are firefeen, that need Prevention. But to speak clearly, such an impossibility can never arrive, and the profoundest Polititian cannot prevent the Contingency of strange Events. In observation then to what hath been presupposed, I have judged it necessary to wave my Voyage into Barbary, and to march towards Venice: The undertaking of this latter enterprise prefents no greater inconvenience then a deferring of our defign for Affrick for some farther times and the entertaining of this occasion may happily fecure my own Dominions from a Civill Warre, or forraign invafion. You fee then that Generofity, Justice to my promise, and Policy hath obliged me to this election. And as for Renown and Glory which perswadeth the most imperuous passion, and is a most Soveraign Alistris with all great Princes, fee how the yeilds, and gives way to my rationall choices Confenting that although I took up armes with a defign of Conquest, shee fuffers, or rather inspires my resolution, to relieve and succour an oppressed People. Honour (my Menesais) is not onely the Mistresse of vertuous Men; But hath likewise a particular priviledge to convert all things to their advantage, who ferre her. Courage without Armes is utterly unserviced ble, liberality michout Riches cannot be distinguished well from avarice; And all the vertues in their particular Confiftencies have their fingular objects to manifest their effects in shofe who are habituated with them: But true glory fecures it felf sufficient in all conditions. She is in an equal valuation, whether it the Throne or in a Prison; ber Triumphs and her sufferings do both serve to her renown, wherefoever the is fought or found, he is levely and honourable. And we must not imagine that onely Conquerors possesse her, and that Protedors have not their partage. The Romans, who are possessors a lone of true renown, and which they distributed with so much equitie to all that truly merited, bestowed no lesse honour to him who faved the life of one Citizen, then to him who tooke off the head of an irreconcileable Enemy : Let us not fear then after fo noble an example, but that we may find as great honour in faving the Chastians, as in the destroying the Barbarians, and that the action which we have undertaken is not leffeglorious, then that which wee have deferred. The titles of Conquerors prove not alwaies fo pleafant and plaufible as Princes may expect; For in the judgement of the people, the Conquerors, though never so moderate, are accounted usurpers. Besides that title is not to be obtained but with the subjugation of an intire King-

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which is attended with the difficulties of destroying Kingdome, Thrones, taking Scepters, giving Crownes, besides the Souldiers courage, and the peoples submission; The Historians penns must with acclamations and descriptions declare the Conquerors merit to the World. But as for him whose designes are to be a Protector of his Allies, he hath the Reines in his own power, he dependent on his own will, to attain his undoubted renown. He who is stiled a Conqueror, perhaps may acquire the Epithets of hardy, valiant, and fortunate; But he who hath the name of a protector, enjoyes not onely these former qualities, but these are added that he is just, faithfull to his Allies, noble and generous. Now if the difficulty of undertaking giveth addition to glory, in any enterprise; Then certainly the Contribution of reliefe in so eminent danger cannot but be an act of most transcendent honour. At present we onely intend Preservation to the Venetians, and to encounter with a mighty Army of Turks, and we may possibly get this advantage, having first subdued our own ambition to vanquish this insolent Enemy, or at least be able to impede the designes of his new Conquest. The honour which we shall gain, will be so clear and pure, as not to appear corrupted with the least sufpition of felf interest before the Peopleseyes. If we shall not render the Turks Prisoners, we shall be happy inspreserving our Allies from being their slaves. If we cannot beautifie the sacred Altars, we shall repute our selves blest if we can defend them from the Turkish fury; and equally please our ambition, and be fully satisfied, though we be not Conquerors in Africa, to be Protectors in Europe of the innocency and vertue of our Allies and our Religion. These are honours to which we may lawfully pretend; men in this noble endeavour are bound to acknowledge to us the means of their Preservation: Fathers will have their Children, and husbands their Wives protected in their Innocency and Modesty; our memory and fame will grow up with the little infants, who by this deliverance, will be taught to continue the honour of their liberator to posterity: and by a discharge from such evills still prove firmer Christians and more faithfully hate the sinnes and errrors of Mahomet. As for Conquerors they gain glory, but never without effusion of much innocent blood, their Charriots of Triumph are a tended and thronged with those who are more miserable; then criminous; but in this design our Souldiers draw no bloud, but from the veines of Insidells; and from those who are the Christians Enemies; and as for our bonour in this action, it is as equally without spot as Competition. The joyfull fongs of innocent Mirth shall not be interrupted with the mixtures of fighes and tears; in our addresses of succour our princely compassion shall occasion publick joyes, and our endeavours break the Forces of those, who are violators of their Faith, and oppressors of the Christian People. Of all warrs the defensive is most just and glorious; And then chiefly where the successes is happy. That right which permits of a repulsion of force by force, is as antient as the foundation of the world; Nature her selfe inspires it, the Lawes permit it, the Casuists dispute it, but in conclusion, the best Divines authorize it, and that Maxime is infallible, that what is just, is honourable. How great a reputation must it prove then to subdue those mighty Armies which are prepared to fight, and vaunt of being victorious? The Turks have gathered innumerable Forces to this purpose, laid their design,

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advanced their march with an infallible expediation, that they cannot fail in their enterprise: But if they prove to be subdued and disap. pointed, their retreat must be with great shame and Confusion. Tis true, the Events of Warre are very uncertain, and therefore shame ought not alwaies pursue the Conquered's Yet it is ever more notorious and fignall upon the invaders, when they are subdued then when the innocent Defenders are overcome. A strenuous defence though at last overpowred, is as honorable as those who subdue, and we find sometimes a place surrendred with as much reputation to those who have yeilded as to those who have gained it, and after a long siedge reduced vigilant and active Souldiers. Oh (Menefais) we finde true glory in this Warr, (with what ever eye we behold the delign) The cause is just, the Enemy so mighty, that though we fail to vanquish, yet we cannot fail of reputation; our endeavours (if we have the defeat) will take away all shame and dishonour, how then shall I desert these powerfull reafons and considerations, which so mightily perswade me? If Infice alone commanded me, I ought to undertake it for her sakes For Kings owe that duty to all the World, as well as to their own fubjects. General fity is another promoter of this action in my Soul, which if I should not observe, I deserved not the name and title of a Prince. If I incline to Policy or secret Counsells of my perswaders; and if I submit to that inspiration which so inflameth mine own mind the Beams of honour lead me to this reliefe, which no Princes could refuse but with an ill reflection to the royall Dignity: Juffice, Generofity, Policy, and Renown, being the four wheeles which carry my resolution; Seeing the first commands the fecond encourageth, the third Counselleth, and the fourth inflameth; we cannot but submit to their united operations, believing we cannot fail, guided by their Conduct and Counsells. These are those Princely attendants which have honoured the Train of great Princes, luftice cannot erre, Generofity cannot be dishonoured, nor Policy indifcreet, and as for Glory, her brightness leadeth and carrieth those fplendent lights, which facilitate the way to all noblenesse: She is a bright Torch that illuminateth the actions of Princes, the hateth vice, & makes her flye, the vertues are her followers, and all her Companions Noble. These attend her in peace and Warre. We are now in our March to Venice; and doubt not but to find her there; all other Beams grow dark, and are shadowed, when we are obscure in the Chambers of death; luftice can bring us but to our Graves, Generofity ferves us no longer then whilst we live, Policy then leaves us, and addresseth to our fuccessour, Soveraignty maketh choice to place a Scepter in other hands the Crown is placed on another head, Majesty is then buried in ashes, and lieth in her Tombe; But Glory and renown fourisheth on the hearse, deriving fome to posterity, and so spreading over all the world: She recompenset with usury the pains of former cares, and those who have sought ber ear-nestly in the shortnesse of their dayes, she perpetuates their memory to all ages: Let us follow then this glorious starre which directs our course now, not to Barbary but to Venice, where we shall be certainly honoured with the brightnesse of true glory and renown, whatever our fucceffes prove. t a regulation until it prove that tabled without mighteen

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He example of noble EMANUEL (this illustrious Hero) may guide the resolutions of all Princes and Monarchs who aspire to sublime immortality. This action of his was more glorious then his I brone, and more precious then the golden Scepter which he bore : The Diademes of Imperial Crownes are not so sparkling as the Rayes of this illustrious action: The Purple, and magnificent garment Princes wear, represent not perfect Majesty without their inclinations to imitate so great a Prince, who hath appeared in this not far short of Alexander or Cæsar. The high reputation of Conquerors exceedeth not the generosity of an equitable and moderate Prince, who is as glorious in the relief of his Allies as if mounted on the chair of the highest Triumphs. And sometimes to refuse fuch glorious offers doth not rellish lesse of true renown, then eminently to Triumph. To preserve ones friends, is no lesse prudence and honour then to destroy the Enemy. And this is a Maxime as sage as sound. Rome (which this Prince observed) gave freely a Crown to him who preserved one Roman Citizen, and erected many Statues, and honoured him with many thousand Tro-To him (I say) who honourably preserved the Republick, and defended his Allies by his generous actions, in preferring them above his proper Interest. This is advice fit for Princes, because those who seem to be above the Laws, easily believe they are not obliged by any; and it is good to intimate to them (from time to time) that they are men as well as Princes; and if their condition do exempt them from what they prescribe to others. No hing can free them from the rule of humanitie and natural equity: And we read that the Emperors of Rome had attendance and followers, whose business was to moderate their excess of pleasure, by the directions of Counfels who if irritated and inflamed with provocation, yet upon second notions, the advice prudently digested, they became more distrees, and of a better temper. Some Princes have commanded that they should be daily remembred with that saying, Souviene toy que tu es mortel, least they should forget it through the splendor of their state, 'Tis true, Kings are to be discoursed with most properly in soft and silken termes; and imperious language founds not well in Soveraigns ears; the fweetness of perswasions are of greater force then boysterous speeches: Yet Thunder and Lightning is welcome when it changeth the corrupted air. In curing the desperate wounds of Princes, the Chirurgeon obscures the instrument of Iron which must open and heal, gives it a persume which may be more pleasant, sugars and clarifies the remedy to make it more conducible, and leffe (bary and afflictive to the Patient. When Philosophers study Morality they finde Virtue inviron'd with Prickles and Thornes, scarce to be saluted without danger. But when they conduct vertue to Courtzor would lead her into Princely Palaces, she is adorned with all variety of rich accoutrements to make her more lovely in the eyes of Majesty. It is this beauty of Virtue that inchanted this great King of Portugall to preferre Justum before Utile, and the prefervation of his Allies and friends before the expectation of a Conquest. And for my own part were I to follow my naturall inclinations, I bould fill this whole Volumn with such examples as this. But the variety of Flowers is the beauty of a Garden, and the diversity of matter is the delectation of books; we shall pass now then from this most generous Prince the King of Portugall to the Duke of Anjou, (afterwards Henry the third) of France, who difgusted with Charles the

the ninth, his brother, had the Crown of Poland procured for him by those who designed his elongation and farther remove from Court. The subtill wayes, and secrets of Princes are not revealed to all, and ordinary capacities could not pierce at the essential of strange an attion, that he should elevate his brother to that honour on whom he had such constant jealousies; see here his reasons and arguments to the Bishop of Valence in dispatching him to Poland.



CHARLES THE NINTH, To JOHN DE MONLUC, Bishop of VALENCE.

Xperience bringeth the most perfect instruction, and Philosophy and Policy (though they may vaunt and pretend) yet cannot lead to the right paths of Prudence without her conduct, by whose means they are chiefly beaten, and made plain: All things which have appearance of good, are not therefore eligible; but present affairs are first to be considered with cir-

cumstances which are already passed. Prudence is the companion of Experience 3 and an excellent guide under whose conduct we cannot eafily erre: But many who pretend to possesse that great virtue (if really examined) have little acquaintance with her: Self-opinion being ordinarily the greatest theat in the world. Old age, which ought to have her as an inseparable companion; walks often alone, and hath not Prudence for her familiar friend; whereas Youth many times is more fortunate in her fociety: It is not therefore long life which is folely bleffed by gaining Experience; fince there are many men, nay even Princes, whose whole lives are but a continued dream or slumber. They who pourtray Experience ought to have lived longer then one Age, seeing that all Kings andmen in their longest duration continue but short moments of time. The years change, and feafons have their alterations, but Kings (furfeited with Peace and Luxury) let time pass without strictness of obfervation, to their office; and in an indulgent Reign of plenty and tranquillity, their abundance causeth them to swell with Pride and Ease, that they will hardly be examples of Justice, much less of Mercy. Luxuriant and wanton times cause Princes like iron to rust for want of use; but when an unexpected Enemy appears with terror, or a Civill Warre breaks forth and imbroyles a State; when the diffention of the Grandees endeavours to dissolve the ligaments of Government, and secret Machinations are discovered to produce generall confusions; then Princes are forced to summon up their bestabilities, and having mastered all faculties to their service, they are then unexpectedly drawn to severall varieties, and strange hazards of necessitous undertakings: Sometimes to dissimulate, and counterfeit kindness where they hate most, and (on other occasions) to shew rigour, and severity towards them whom they most love, and honour: at other times they com-

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mand to imprisonment those Ministers and Favourites, whose company they chiefly honoured, and with nothing more then their liberty. Such occurrences are the familiar attendances of Crowns, whereby Kings gain experience, and discern the transient accidents of their Reignes (which obligeth them to the rules of Policy and Prudence) the better to secure their Soveraignty. Histories, though they preserve a memory, and treasure up the Actions of Kings, yet they give not perfect instruction to them in their royall offices ; New Successes intervene in severall Raigns, which dail, require new Counfells and fresh wefignes. He who seekes for instruction solely in books, must not think to have his expectation fatisfyed by examining onely the Reignes of such Princes who passe their times meerly in peace & tranquillity. The Reign of Tiberius and his Court of delicacies, may teach a Prince to consume Golden time in airy vanities, and wanton Luxury. But the Reign of Marcus Aurelius was in another temper, where enfignes (the Emblems of honour) were in highest request. The history of a fost and luxurious Prince, like a bed of fand to the pilot, is very dangerous, unleffe the example be avoided: But the lives of hardy and valiant Princes like Anchors if well fixed, may preserve a Royall Ship from Naufrage; the errors of Princes like Rocks in the Sea are to be observed in the Charte, that they may be the more fecurely avoided: But (above all these Theories & contemplations) experience is the chiefest Mistresse, Vertue consisteth in allion, and he raigne b must prosperously, who by the observation of the exills past, and the judgement of those that are present, doth present suivre mischieses. To open my thoughts (Noble Prelate) to you I am but young, and have not feen more then a Quinquennium of my reign; Idarenot prefume to brag of my experience, yet I dare to fay, I have feen those things, fince I came to the Crown, which I reserve in my memory, and which make me doubt whether I have not outlived many of my Ancestors in the Kingly science. Certainly in the observation of what hath arrived both in Court and Kingdom (though I am but a young Prince, and of the age of twenty three, yet) I have recorded many Marvellous and strange occurrences in this short time, which have whetted my resolution and reason to a deportment of more vigorous activity in this dubious conjuncture of mine affairs. It may feem strange to you, and all the World, that I bestowed a Grown on one I have held in Jealousie, and great suspition, who for his person was a Prince, my Subject and my Brother. And (it may be) you will tell me if you procure Crowns for him whom you suspect, what rewards will you bestow on those who are faithfull? To this objection Policy makes her answer; hat there are conjunctures when it is more seasonable to prefer then punish, and to remove an Enemie to a degree of eminent honour, then to reward and recompence a Faithfull friend. And your wisdom teacheth you, that all times are not proper for the same service. The merits of some ought to be in the Register, though not requited at present; and the dangers of others designs are considerable; And when revenge may prove perillous, as well as ineffectuall; Fidelity is to be suborned (if possible) to prevent more terrible inconveniencies. The fairest Flowers serve as well to conceal and bide the Aspes and Serpents, as to beautifie Chapplets and Crowns of Kings, and Princes are not obliged so much to regard beauty and riches, as the hearts of those whom they rule and command. Great rewards are not alwaies the testimony

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of love, but often the effect of Policy, and are not given jo much to oblige to Respelts, as to appeale and remove from wrath and revenge. It was the Iroians Counsell (though not received) Timeo Danas & dona ferentes; let not then my liberality aftonish your apprehension, which I shall endeavour to fatisfie by many arguments. First I must let you know that all our Enemies are not to be treated after the fame manner: Some may be contemned, others ought to be feared, some actions of Primes ought to be publisht to all the World, and others, to be concealed from all eyes. Soveraign Government admits as well ingeniously to dissimulate, as severely to punish. The Duke of Anjon is not one of the first ranke. but a person more considerable then to be despised; he and his party is rather more formidable, and therefore the more to be suspected. If my private suspition of him were publickly declared to the World. my condition might grow more dangerous, and he more puissant; because, he is so near to me in bloud as a brother, and so related as visible heir of the Crown. Great mounds in the more noble parts endanger the body, and diffentions in the Royall Family are commonly more destructive and fatall to the who e line: Such discords would be invitations to the Subjects to become more insolent to repair their private Fortunes with the ruines of Royalty. If Henry and Charles were divided, some would conceive in serving Charles they were subservient to Henry, and others following Henry, may be ambitious and violent to banish and abandon Charles. Fraternall discords as they are not honorable, so they are not safe. (harles was too near in bloud for my feverity, being my brother, who though naturally ambitious, might excite the subjects to sedition, they having too much proclivity to that crime; And an execution of punishment on one so near, as it might provoke a popular compassion, so it might probably occasion a generall revolt which might shake the Foundations of my Monarchy. The Lawes of Heaven as well as those of Policy conspire in the concealment of secrecies, least that what is at prefent scarce an Embryo in the thought (breaking out into action by a discovery) prove an unruly Monster in the birth. What remaines then, but that I should remove him to a mighty distance, whom I could not punish? and gratifie him with a Forraign Crown, the better to fecure mine own, and to use dissimulation where I durst not presume to chastife. But you may object, I understand you speak of Enemies and punishments sutable to their crimes; If so, I know not whom you intend, nor what is his crime whom you suspected; you may farther reply, that I ought to consider the Duke of Anjou is the Mounsieur of France, that he is your Brother, that he is young, that his inclinations are sweet and amiable, that he is Generall of your Armies, that he hatha great influence on the Queen your Mother; And that with his affability he infinuateth, and gaineth the hearts of all, who addresse unto him. These circumstances do justly engender, and beget great suspitions, and therefore rather may merit a Guard to fecure him, then a Crown to oblige his haughty affections. To this I reply, 'tis true, the Duke of Anjou is my Brother, and so in that relation near the Thrones Ambition may more easily transport him to aspire to the Crown, and though his heart were so moderate and just, as not to suggest to him fuch ambitious inspirations; yet doubtlesse he hath a company of Counsellors and flatterers about him, too apt to inflame him in such defires, perswading with adulation, that if he were King, his Raign

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would restore the Golden Age; objecting, that this of mine was composed of nothing but Iron. Those who are born mar to Crowns, are .00 prone to think themselves abused by nature, who gave them not a more early eir, h to inherit the possession of Soveraignty; to which high pitch if they cannot afcend, they commonly fall desperate and melancholy. Alliance and blood are naturall bonds frong enough to oblige private interest, but when their relations are near a Crown, those bonds usually grow feeble: And in the combate of ambition and nature, the more equitable party deth not alwaies prevaile : You tell me, the Duke of Anjou is young; that is the age when passion is most predominant, and most easie to be perswaded by those who gild over their own ambitions and felf Interest, by pretending to aim at nothing but his good and advantage, who nevertheleffethough they should make him King, would bee afterwards as active in depofing him, if it were in their power. Youth is an age where the acquisitions of ill habits are more facile then the infusions of good & vertuous dispositions; Yet it is a vigorous time which rendereth great advantage to those whom it ferveth: It is the chiefest season to gaine hearts, and to delude with hopes and lovelinesse. If my Brother were elder, I should lesse suspect his power, and more confide in his affections. As for his Inclination which may be sweet and amiable: Those qualities doe render him more formidable: With these shapes of affability and courtship, he will more easily suborn my subjects, and reign more puissantly in their hearts by his complacencie then by his gifts, his folicitations, or expense of treasure. The fiercenesse of my humor, and the sweetnesse of his comportment will cause those to love him who fear me, and gladly to forsake so severe a Generall, to follow, and obey so complacent, and courteous a Commander; and if there be occasion, I am not to doubt of their resolution to a Revolt, when they are possessed with some expectation, and hopes of him, as a fit Successor, and are so presently inchanted with his extream civilities. As for that other quality, his being Lieutenant Generall of all my Armies, it is a relation and capacity wherein I may not least suspect him: For then when he was but fixteen years of age, after the Battaile of St. Denis, and the Constable of France flain, he was chearfully received Generall to that victorious Army, with the unanimous applause of the greatest officers, who so joyfully submitting to him as their chief, being so young, and after the death of so noble and experienced a Commander, made me presently conclude that he was born to be fortunate, and great: And fince his advancement to bee Generall, doe you not see how delightfully the Souldiers flock and follow after him? Doe they not pursue all occasions to manifest their Valour for his honour, and daily thirst after the happy hours of his fortunate conduct? He hath (fince his commands) not onely beaten the Prote-Stants, made the Queen of Navar to fly to Rochell, and forced the Cardinal Charillon to escape for his life to England; but he retreated with as much success as generosity from his dangers in Poytiers, where both the Armies were ready to quarter in the same place, and to fight, and so surprize a Victory. To conclude, during the continuance of this War while he was active for me, he was superactive by his successes for himselfe, by which meanes he made many Creatures for his owne interest of the best rank of all my Subjects. The glorious day which he had at Baffack, where he made an eminent Prince his Prisoner, his fuc-

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ceffe at Anbeterre and Muridan; The second battaile which he gained, whereby he reduced many places in Poitou, Saintogne, and Angualmois; and those other noble acquisitions even to the taking of Saint John de Anyelo. All these circumstances have peswaded me to a suspition, and to more stricter observations of his waies. These fortunate events might inflame his expectations to fublime thoughts of commanding all: And as sometimes the strength of force surmounts, and is prevalent above the Lawes of Nature, and the rights of birth, his thoughts may be transported beyond those of a subject, he might conceit himself to have as good a Title to a great part of France, as Alexander had to Perlia when he commanded there with his Army. And it is more then probable, his ambition will hardly admit of this difference, that the Macedonians, who affected great Alexanders Conquests, were his subjects: But the French who had compassed these illustious Atchievements in the service of their Generall, were not his but my subjects whilft I lived and reigned. As to that relation, wherein you tell me that he ruleth the Queen my Mother as he pleaseth; To that I shall reply, tis true, the Queen my Mother hath great passion for my Brother, and it may be she is so indulgent in her love to him, that it tendeth much to my prejudice. The honour and respect which I owe to her, (being her Son) and the quality ofher Regency of France which the so bravely performed, commands me, that I dare not presume to examine severely that Article, though I apprehend (fometimes) that my Mother preferrs my younger brother to more degrees of affection; yet I am to be pardoned if I be not filent in that point nor eafily razeit out of my memory. You know when the Duke of Anjour beleiged St. John de Angelo, he met with more difficulty then he expected, and the affairs were so managed, that they rather threatned disgrace then honour. But the Queen my Mother fearing (in this occasion) least this action should reflect with a disreputation upon my brother, and asperse with some disadvantage all his former Victories, commanded me to march and raise the Seidge, by which accident I became liable to the dishonour of that unsuccessful attempt. I leave you then to judge, whether I may more rationally confide in him, or whether I ought not the more to suspect him, since he hath of his party not only the greatest of the Commanders and Captaines, but even a Princesse whose honour and justice are so equally admired. But (as I said) I must not scrue up this string too high, nor examine this point too rigoroufly: For the Queen is my Mother, as well as the was Regent, and therefore of a higher degree, then to be treated as an ordinary subject; And whatsoever arrives, I shall be more glorious (let her use me as she please) in the effects of any of her designes; then if by a disrespective preparation I should presume openly to opposeher. But there is a midde way (which I choose to walke in) so even and inoffensive, as shall give her no pretence to complaine, and yet shall remove all obstades which can deprive me of her affection. The Courting and Carrefling of the people, if free (possibly) from secret ambition, is not onely tollerable but comendable; but when a young Prince is compliant and affable, and studies to winne and please, those endeavours being imployed to his equals, and inferiors as fellow subjects, with as much or more observation, then to his Soveraigne, can it be that one of his Condition

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would make himself so much a flave to such persons, but upon design thereby to become their King? Certainly if this were not his aime, he would esteem it far more conducing to his advantages to court his Soveraign upon whom he depends; Then thus to fawn upon his Inferiours. Liberality, on such an occasion is but a Mercenary vertue; her giving is rather a fowing in expectation of an Harvest, which may make a return with usury: And it is these hopes which makes her Prodigall, who, upon another score, would have given nothing. In the consultation then of all these considerations that the Duke of Anjou is my Brother, that he is young, and Generall of my Armies, that his inclinations are affable and sweet, that the Queen my Mother so highly favours him, and that he hath no other businesse but to gain the hearts of those who addresse to him; It were imprudence not to be jealous of him: Yet all these reasons and conjectures seem weak and feeble in comparison of what I shall farther add. The Queen is of that disposition, that she justifies all others before me, she authoriseth all to have suspitions on me; She discovers the most concealed secrets of my trust to the Duke of Anjeu, and them of his factions she accuseth and convince the clearest reasons, and will not admit of truth it felf to oppose her pleasure. I have read in history that an old wife Rultick who confined his ambition within the Walls and Pallisadoes of his Garden, received a Crown from Alexander with some regrett, and shew of Melancholly: And some Philosophers have not thought a Crown worthy the lifting up to their heads: But I never yet read that ayoung Prince, whose inclinations are wholly bent to Gallantry, and to pleasure (rather then towards morality) would receive a Crown with regret or discontent. When one presenteth me with the newes of a Town surrendred, or a battail won; my presents were usually Chaines of Gold to those who bring such happy tydings: And yet the Duke of Anjou hath scarce a common Civility for them, who bring him the affurance and tidings of a Crown and Kingdom; Notwithstanding that he is ambitious of being reputed the most civill and obligeant Prince of all the world: Nay when it was told him that Sigifmond was dead, and confequently that he might aspire and pretend to the Crown of Poland, he discovered more tears in his eyes for the death of Sigismond, then if he had received the same newes of me: what variety of thoughts then may not hourly fuggest to me strange apprehenfions? May I not think that he who receives fuch a Kingdom with regret, aimes at one more glorious? And for what other reason can it be, that the Crown of Poland should be inconsiderable? I do not think becan easily compasse the Crown of Spain, his friends are not so intelligent, as to abuse Philip the second to serve him and his design; as for the Crown of England, and that Illustrious Queen Elizabeth, that Kingdome is as equally impossible: For the Queen will not marry but dye a Virgin. What reason can there be then alleaged, why my brother should refuse to be a King unlesse he hoped and expects my death, which might prove his passage to a more glorious Throne? And allthough I discern not his way, it is most evident, his design is laid to this haughty pitch. That mighty faction which I have formerly mentioned, will treat and agitate profoundly for his black interest and criminall expectations. His name is great, being of the Royall Family, his party proportionable to their great occasions: He

watcheth all advantages, he expects the fruits of his dangerous enterprise, and may plead no inclinations of his own, but my subjects a version to serve me. To all this the Duke of Anjou presumes he is asfured of the Queens cordiall withes, and his extremity of hatred to the Protestant party will occasion a War, that War keep up his interest with the greatest Officers of the Army, and Grandees of the Kingdom and these interests still increase his power. I cannot deny but those of whom I speak in their Qualities merit not a Kingdom, but though Fortune hath not given it them, their ambition thirstethafter it, who (without doubt) better deserve exile, or a prison, if it were seasonable to act fuch an execution. But as his power cannot be shaken with out ruining the Queen, and endangering the peace of the whole King. domes I must not undertake what is impossible, knowing that my Brother hath the strongest places of France under his command; and those not ordinarily fortified, but reinforced with the affections of the people: It is necessary in this juncture to shew him a fair path, and to invite him with the temptation of a Crown, to remove him from his popular Authority; and fo to weane the people from their admi-

ration of him to a more proper object.

In this condition let Henry receive the Crown of Poland, and confined to so noblean Exile, act his royall part on that foundation. In his all cension to that Throne we shall better establish our own 5 and giving him Subjects, shall place guards about him, who shail assure us of his person, that he reigning more puissantly in Poland, we may reign more gloriously in France, and with more tranquillity. There is (moreover) this advantage in this defign, that though I armemine enemie, yet there is no fear that his weapons can reach me, nor trouble my fafety at fuch a distance. His Troopes may be discovered, if he design any irruption; and if we have any War, it is not likely to be on the Frontiers of our Estates. Besides, this Exile is so remote, that his Creatures (left behind) dare not presume to murmur, their complaints being not able to reach their Patron, or (at least) he not near enough to revenge, or defend their discontents. Things thus examined, I found no way better to discharge my self of this so near a danger; which if I had longer deferred, the wound might have been made too wide for any cure. Publickly to oppose by force those whose crime is secret, is a provocation of the peoples hatred, and a leavying of Forces for mine enemies: So to act for them who would destroy me, or my Kingdome, and to commence a War, which may not have an end in a short time, and which may be fatall, and destructive to the whole, as well as ruin to my felf. To have immured this young Lion in a place where his fury might have prevailed with popular aid, had been a design too dangerous, and it is very difficult to find faithfull guards when he who is imprisoned is in a condition to be proclaimed and declared a lawfull King. Such a Fire as cannot be extinguisht, is better to be dispersed. It is then most rationall that the Duke of Anjou be made King of Poland, that I may be my felf. Surely he will never have the boldnesse publickly to interpret that an unkindnesse which deserveth thanks. And as for those who serve him, they dare not interpose in that, which appears so advantageous to their Protector: As for the Queen her felf, who is more subtile and prudent then not to dissemble at least a feigned joy, for that addition of a Crown to her Sonne, though it may inwardly cause some reluctancie and grief.

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griefe. What can then oppose a design so judiciously and prudently consulted of? The greatest objections (pressed with severest violence) must need to fatisfied in the elevation of this young Prince to his Scepter; No aggravations can seduce the People, but that this homour agreeth with his qualities, though never so noble. And as for you (Illustrious Presate) consider how in this Act the Kingdome is delivered from a secret Usurper; your King is preserved from a dangerous and emulous Rivall and brother. The rootes of Rebellion are extirpated, peace is established throughout all France, and never did any person extract a more illustrious and innocent revenge from so deep an injury: It being certain, that this is the first time that revenge was satisfyed by the Coronation of an Enemy.

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The Censure.

A Mbition hath her Jealousies as well as love, and the one is no l fe vi-olent then the other. Soveraign power is so delicate and tender, that all things which do approach near it, occasion inquietude, and that which doth but touch it, wounds it. The very shadow and slight imagination accuseth any thing as culpable, which apprehension hardly can be attered or appeased. So deep an impression, and so prosoundly is jealouse ingraved in a Crown. The Greek Poets said, that Kings knew no kindreds to signific that bloud and Proximity were not confiderable with those who raigned soveraignly. And as soon as Kings are feated in the Throne of Supream Authority (as if in that degree they had a spirituall addition) they speedily become more jealous of their glory. The more nature and fortune hath obliged them; the more ambition difuniteth and raiseth suspitions in their thoughts. It is true of foveraignty, as it is of the heart of man, where all wounds are mortall. When Tiberius came to the Empire, Tacitus tells us that the Senate designed to oblige their new Prince, by conferring a glorious title of honour on his mother Livia, and stiling her Mater Patrix: but this subtill and absolute Polititian could not endure that title in his mother, but answered, that Honors in women are more properly to be moderated then augmented; And (as that famous Historian relates) that title procured her a Guard, which he appointed perpetually to attend (Augustus being dead) least her Grandure should lessen and diminish his; And if Livia caused his restlessinesse, what persurbasions did Agrippina increase; the great acclamations of the Souldiers as the marched by the River of Rhine, wounded him on the Banks of Tiber. Anathofe testimonies of affection which those legions bestowed on her engendred not only jealousie, but hatred in his heart. Now if this cruell passion so tormented him, that he was so inraged by a woman, what might not the have endeavoured to eternize the glory of her husband? he feared Germanicus (much more then the Barbars) he sufpetted him too nearto him in Almany, & that he was not far enough from him in Asia; and Pito was not in suspition alone as to cause his death. What should I say more? the children should have the same destiny with their Parents, and if the Priests dared to pray for themselves, though after their Emperor, Tiberius would take exception; make an ill interpretation of their Devotions, andquarrel with the Pontifical orders. Nay this Prince was fo infinitely jealous of his Power, that he destroyed himself in the person of Seianus:he could not endure the glory of any others, though af-

ter their Death: and as he opposed the honours tendred to his mother, when she was alive, be formed at her funerall Pompes, and interrupted the kindnesse and profusion of the Senate when she was dead. Let us not then be astemist if Charles the 9th grew jealous at the vertues of his brother, being a paffion to which all Princes are So Subject, and who have as many examples to follow as Soveraigns. who hardly raign and rule without this passion, which is so common amongst Princes that Crownes feem tempered as well with Jealoufie as Glory. Tet there is no rule but will admit of some exception. Policyslike Janus, bath two faces. I fball now therefore prefent you with the example of a King, whose resentment was clean contrary to CHARLES the Ninth. DON RAMIR, King of Oviedo, was fo far from Suspition, that he associated his brother in the Empire, caused him to sit with him in the Royall Throne, cladde him in royall Purple, and imparted to him the joynt fruition of his Crown and Scepter; an Astion fo eminent, as well deserves our curiosity to discourse the Morives. We have heard the reasons of CHARLES the Ninth, who could not endure a Rivall, or an equall. Let us now attend the discourse of DON RAMIR, who would not sit alone in the Royall Throne without the Company of his brother. And after examination of both let us judge whose reasons were mest efficacious and



DON RAMIR TO THE ESTATES GENERALL OF HIS KINGDOM.



Doubt not but most Capacities will be rather apt to condemn my designe and intentions of the Co-regency of my brother with me in the Throne, and will not be inclined to approve this unparallell'd action. But it matters not, Multitudes and tumults are not sit juries to censure Kings, nor proper judges to sentence and condemn their pleasures. It sufficeth me if I

fatisfie men more rationall, and the more eminent persons of my estate, and thereby convince their judgements with those reasons which have obliged me to an action so rare, as to communicate and make a partage of mine authority. Those who dive not deeply into the intentions of Heroick persons, (who whilst they lived, were so famous for their Atchievements, and whose Renown is descended through so many ages to us) may have their eyes dazelled, and their reason startled at this great example; And may rashly conclude it as a matter against all rules of wisdom, to endeavour a communion in Government, where the Kingdome is but little, and therefore the Crown more unsit for any but one. For (they will say) was it impossible for Casar and Pompey, who were two such mighty men, so great friends, so linked in Allies, to have contrived a Co-regnation? And doe you thinke that it is possible to be effected by you? Those (I say) who were so incompatible, in the joynt

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fruition of Soveraignty, that each one would rather adventure the loss of every drop of blood then to be fingly supreame? If royall authority devided were for the affurance or advancement of any good or (to speak more plainly) if it were a thing that were possible, what means had not been endeavoured for that resolution. Now as Cefar, and Ton p y, rather abhorred then approved fuch a one: So An xander the Great condemned a Rivall in supreme Authority before thosel noble Henes. And if fuch persons have refused, who dare adventure to be an example in so strange, and unprincely participation of Rovalty? They will yet press further) Great Alexander was peaceable in his Kingdom of Macedonia; Darius was neither his neighbour, nor his enemy; yet netwithstanding to gain command throughout all the Universe, he put himself into a condition either to destroy the Persian power, or else (as one ambitious of more illustrious glory) to fall in that delign. Thus Antiquity relates and venerates united Soveraigne authority; fo true it is that a divided power hath ever been the mother of disorders and misfortunes. Dowe not remember (will some object) that the Founders of Rome were Brothers, and Twins? Yet those who had lain together in one womb could not sit quietly together in one Throne; and nothing could fatisfie untill the blood of the one was mingled in the Morter, and laid in the Foundation of the Walls of that glorious City. Silla and Marius never were in peace, nor could they rest while their power was equall. The Triumvirat, 2 composition of three choicest men, could not continue long. And Anthony and Lepidus were forced to furrender to the fortune of Augustus: Marcus Aurelius (with all his Philosophy and Wisdome) found it an unsupportable burthen to bear sail with the Factions of Lucius Verus, his Colleague in the Empire. Baffianus Caracalla was voluntarily a Fratricide (to reign alone) in the person of Geta. Ballinus and Pupienus, those grave, and sage Princes did adventure an equal perishing, aspiring to a superiority out of their ambitious spirits. Gallus and Volufianus were massacred by their Souldiers as a reward of their ambitious diffentions. Gallien's creating Odena:e his Colleague hastned his own death, with the ruin of the Empire, the envie of Meonius determining his glory with his life. It is very possible that Dicclesian out of discontent to his fellow Consull, after so many Victories and Triumphs renounced his Empire to spend the rest of his dayes in solitude. To conclude, all examples of this kind easily demonstrate, that the admission of a companion in the Throne, is neither facile nor tollerable. These arguments may be objected against my resolution, but to answer; Examples doe rather illustrates then demonstrate, and rather per-(wade thenconvince reason. Fortune (who is active in most enterprises) causeth sometimes good successes to spring out of evill counsels, and ill successes oftentimes to be the events of good designes. Wherefore, if we rightly examine whether a thing be good or ill, the thing it self is to be scanned, not the effects which follow, which ordinarily arrive not but through strange causes, for which there may be no merit for accusation. Besides, the apprehensions of Kings, Princes, and great persons, and their actions differing from others, deserve a more extraordinary respect. They are not alwaies regulated by a Law, or neceffitated to an example, otherwise they must forfeit their reason, and their authority must intirely be destroyed. If the Prince of Maced nia

cedonia had failed to have been Master of the Universe, his design had been interpreted rash, and he too ambitious, as rather aiming to make himself glorious, then defiring the worlds good, which he fo much pretended. His ambition of Renown made him so active and if the people found themselves happy under his domination; their Fortunes were the more to be esteemed meeting with a Prince of such grand and noble inclinations. Yet I cannot but fay that if that Illustrious Conqueror had admitted a co-regence to som eminent Kingdomes in his Soveraignty, he might better have preserved some virtues, which he loft, and not so vainly attempted some things which have spotted his memory and reputation. That stately Castle which he caused so rashly to be burnt at Persepolis Those voluptuous and Aliatique luxuries which vitiated the noble Macedonians ; the death of Clius and Parmenion, and some such other ignoble accidents possibly had not obscured the splendor of his glorious Reign. As to that discourse which concerned Casar and Pampey, they did not in their ambition aim at what was better, but what was greater. Their envy, and emulation was so high, that in the contestation they seemed not to contend fo much for the Scepter, as to destroy each other; they had not spirits so moderated, as either joyntly, or successively to reign and govern. And that which is faid of Cafar and Pompey may be affirmed of Silla and Marius their Ancestors; for Romulus and Remu, whoe'r knows how they were born, fostered, and educated, may easily judge, and have foreseen the ill fortune which arrived to them both, the one brother dying a violent death, and the other living a hainous Fratricide: For Augustus, Amonius, and Lepidus, seeing that they were joynt Competitors for Soveraignty, they could not but be harraffed with unquiet perturbations: But as for Marcus Aurelius, and Lucius Verus, though the Government was interrupted with some errors in their Consulship, yet it became not so unfortunate under those two, as under many other Princes. It is then neither unjust, nor impossible to admit of a companion, or affistant in Government. Marcus Aurelius did nothing without reason, he was prudent, discreet, and virtuous, to fuch a degree, that his example is sufficient to justifie my resolution. Caracalla, Balbinus, Pupienus, and others, though they have differed in their judgements, yet have not contradicted my election and choice. And as for Dioclesian and Maximianus, there was no circumstance in their reign which yeelds not some assimulation to my purpose, their conversation was unanimous, they fought, vanquished, conquered, and triumphed alike: And if any difference did arise, it was so prudently smothered, as not to stir up any popular trouble, or ill resentment: And (for ought we know) when Dioclesian made choice of a private life, it was rather a voluntarie election to retirednesse, then any jealousie of Maximianus, or any injury from so faithfull a Colleague. Besides, in this eminent, and great recession from the Crown; Maximian encountred with as much trouble as Dioclesian could with content and quiet. That which is faid of these Primitive Emperors, may be faid of others who ruled in Greece fince Conftantine the Great transferred the Empire: Valentiman affociated his brother Valens, and afterwards his fon Gratian, who in a succession continued the same Grace with Theodosius, and he to his children Arcadius and Honorius; and when Honorius raigned in chief alone, he nominated Constantius for

his Colleague in the Empire. Thus Justinus made choice of Justinian his Nephew, and many others of Princely quality proposed this way as best for themselves, and subjects. Yet if all the Reignes of these severall Princes were not so fortunate, the evill consequents and effects are not to reflect on my defign. The same misfortunes have attended them who have governed Empires, folely, and without a companion, as it appears too evidently in the faid Reigns of Caligula, Nero, and Demitian, and many others who have been as wicked as great. But as I said before, it is not by illustration or examples, but sence of reason that I shall support my undertakings. Did I rely on the precedents of History, the Greeks can plentifully furnish me with examples both great and illustrious. In Sparta, where Morality and Policy seemed to have their birth, and whose rules may guide all others; the command was there legall and usual for two Kings to be of equall power. But because examples prove nothing, let us listen to reason which most justly challengeth obedience, and is the chiefest authority to govern Princely actions: And now let us fee whether the doth not counsel me to place my brother with me in the throne, which rational men must needs confesse an act of greatest Prudence, if it tend to the repose and safety of my people. To know this truth more exactly, we must consider, that Monarchy is obvious to many dangerous Concomitants; he who is highest in power, is not alwaies fittest for the discharge of the greatest imployments. Kings, though they are possessors of honour, they are not alwaies friends to virtue, and often share in vice more deeply then any of their subjects! And they who finde themselves ranked in that high condition, that they can doe what they will, (it is to be feared) will not alwaies doe what they ought. The first motions of a provoked King, of of a Prince leffe virtuous ought to be feared, as much as lightning. His rage and wrath are equally terrible; he no sooner hates, but ison fire with indignation; he is no sooner displeased, but speedily punisheth all whom he suspecteth to displease him: Innocency cannot stop his fury, his executions are as swift as his thoughts, his passion is sometimes so violent, that it runneth headlong into a precipitation, where Reason is not admitted to plead, nor Justice administred, but Clemency utterly forgotten. Tis true, a Kingdom may be unfortunate where two Princes are equally vitious, but if the one have inclinations to virtue, they wil prevent the errors and defaults of fociall miltakes: But it is rare in Nature to feetwo men (much less two Princes) of the same humours and tempers, yet some advantage may bee extracted out of the diverfity of their vices: If one be lazie and idle, it may restrain the choler, and impatience of the other; the coldnesse of the one may serve to correct the hot and passionate humour of his companion. And hee who is too flow may equally be quickened by him who is superactive and vigorous: And why should not that noble emulation which inliveneth skilfull Artists, and hath made great persons Competitors in Virtues cause Kings and Princes more eminent in their Office and Government? From such an innocent Contestation may arise the secure refult of peace to a Kingdome, greater Glory to the State, abundant plenty and happinesse to the People. For when a King makes use of his Counsellors, which may be fage, faithfull and wife, yet they are of no other use to him then books are to private subjects, he consults

with them but when he pleaseth, admits no conference, but when hee calleth, believeth as he liketh, and acteth nothing but what agreeth with his inclination, and perhaps no part of that which hath been prefented in advice; But in this united Government, affaires are not fo transacted. Great resolves ought to be at least in the Consultations of two, and the very time of debate may contribute some more exact advantage: The diversity of their opinions and apprehensions may serve to produce a more perfect discussion: And these considerations (if they effect not a happy conclusion) they may at least prevent a precipitation and ruine to the State, and to preferve the Kingdome from a Forraign invalion, or from the combustion and broiles of Civil War, which are not easily quieted without generall destructions. Weigh the conveniencies with the dangers of two equall in Government, the condition will be more secure, either in Peace or War. In a War the one may govern with Counsell, the other as Generall command the Army: The one in the Court derive Justice to the People, the other in the Camp order Martiall affaires to the incouragement of the Souldier, and terror of the Enemie. It being very difficult in fuch a juncture of danger to preserve the Civill part from acts of high injustice, and the Martiall from a deep resentment of discontent. Seditions and Conspiracies are the common mothers of Civill Warres, which (like more Venomous and Putredinous Creatures generated farther from the Sun) have their birth, and are begotten in the abfence of their Kings. Where, if the Beams of authority did shine, the Government would be more illustrious, and secure. Doe weenot see both in martiall and civill Government, both in the Camp and Courts of justice, that there are officers and Ministers who in the absence of the chiefe Commanders and Magistrate, are invested with their authority? and why may it not be as just and reasonable, for a Prince, to have an affociate on the Throne? not inferior to him, but his equall, to this end, as not onely to advise and counsell, but likewife to be a sharer of his vast imployments, and so thereby contribute an equall affistance to support the weight of the Grown and Scepter. In this relation inferiour Persons cannot serve but feebly, in respect of those who have the sacred Character. If you will say, subserviency in Authority may be equally usefull; I answer, Delegation of power is potent in those who grant it, but more feeble and weake in those who receive it: Inferiour creatures (subject to a change and Princely displeasure) have not that Gallantry and Noblenesse of mind, as Ithose who have the high and Divine marks of Soveraignty imprinted on them. Generalls, and great officers of State, mind more their private interest then that of the Crown, and commonly study more to make themselves then their master great. But two Princes of equall interest in the same Crown, as two obedient Sonns in one mother are onely divided in their persons, but not in their desires; Their Glory is the same, their Throne, their Scepter, their Crown, their People, their united interest: And consequently in this Community, they act with greater order, and proceed with greater Prudence, and enjoy not onely those preheminencies which Monarchy is faid to have above other Governments, but even those also which seem to render an Aristocracy advantagious. The grand Presence of Soveraignty seemes divided, but the Puissance is intire; They are as two great lights in the same Orbe.

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Orb, where the authority is equall: The People though they have two Princes, yet they pay but one tribute, and if their judgements differ, the Government growes more secure, and the Princes and people in morefafety by their diffenting harmony. This capacity renders a Kingdome more immortall, and admits not an Interregnum though one dye: Nor those Confusions which are very common at the inopine and suddain deaths of Princes. By this means a Civill Warre may be prevented; that power being communicated to my brother, which was derived to me from my Unckle, wh. might study any furpation, and the Commotions of the Kingdom, if I had not imparted this Grace and Favour to him. And (if I mistake not) in this action I shall gain this honour, that I shall easily be supposed able to overcome all other Passions after my having been victorious over ambition, which is so naturall to princes. And who shall suspect me covetous after my having admitted my brother to the movety of my Kingdome? Nor do I abandone those whom God hath comm itted to my charge; But contrariwise give them a second Protector, thereby endeavouring to provide the more for their fafety. It may be ob jected that I am not so discreet, parting with a thing so puissant and pretious as a Scepter: Yet moderation merits Elogies, as well as ambition. Humble Virtues are as commendable as aspiring and cumultuois bonour, and to raigne in peace with Justice, is as glorious as to Conquer triumphantly in warre. It is fit for a Prince to have the I heory of Violence and feverity, but not to practice it, if it be possible. In this condition, if the Moores shall invade us with their Forces, our Armies and theirs ready to joyne, the Enemy may be amazed to see two Crowned heads in the Front, and body of the Battalia, or the one in Counsell as the other in the Camp, and so conclude a Throne thus supported, is with more difficulty destroyed and subdued.

The Censure.

ON RAMIR hath used his strongest arguments for the pretences of his Brothers Co-regency and Coronation, but whatever this Kings felf perswasions were to him, his discourse may be justly consured a Paradox; And a wife man (in this resolution) would rather have been out of his Kingdome then of his Counfell. As for the Kings of Sparta which he proposeth for example, they were rather the chief of the Senate then Soveraign Princes. And as for the Lacedemonian Ephori, who condemned one of their Kings to dye, it is well known that the King of Lacedemon was but a painted and titular, not an absolute King, And as for DON RAMIR, he could never have established the ill custome of Sparta in the Kingdom of Spain, he might have so conclided if he had been a Prince, as high in resolution as birth. Kings are no: to degenerate by liberality to Communicate Soveraignty, and thereby to difgrace, if not to destroy Royalty it selse. That great Prince who onely aimed in all his Conquests, to get that he might give, satisfying himself with fresh hopes, still reserved his Crown intire. The beams of Soveraignty are no longer radient then in the presence of the Sun; This Magnanimous Hero (ready to dye) kept his Crown on his Pillow, and being moved to whom he would commend his Scepter, he answered to him who deserved, it best, when I am dead.

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And although Arideus his Brother was in the head of his Army yet at the point of death he would not name his Succeeffor, to preferre his puisfant Royalty more intire, to the last moment of his life. He faidtruly on another occasion, Ephestion was another Alexander 3 but under stood thereby that Alexander had given him his heart, not his crown; that he made him his favourite, and not his equall. That great Prince, who wrote to Darius that the whole earth ought not to have tno Masters, no more then the heavens two Suns, taught the world another resolution then what Don Ramir pradifed 3 and though he conquered Tyre, yet he would never Suffer the Royal Robe of Purple to be communicated. This adion of Ramir is (as Divines (ay) more admirable then imitable: for Royalty, like a Mathematical point ought to be indivisible, and that body that hath more then one head ought not to be interpreted any other then a monfter. Philosophy faith, omne bonum est fui diffusivum ; but Fortune hath another Maxim clean contrary. The first speaks of intellectual goods, the second admits not, nor will suffer the community, and participation of Crowns; the will be rather offended to fee fuch an illustrious condition in a divident, and cannot endure that any hall be admitted to ber glorious favours holding them too pretious to be rendred divisible and common. Pluralities of Cæsars can neither be good for Prince nor people, was a speech which the Philosopher Arius used to Augustus; when he alluded to a verse of Homer, then when after the death of Anthony and Cleopatra this Prince disputed with himself, whether it were better to put the young Casar to death, or fave his life. And if the amity of private persons ought to go no higher then the Altar, the grace and favours of Princes ought to go no higher then the Throne; although the Church sings, Ecce quam bonum & jucundum fratres habitare in unum, yet the intends the union of private perfons, and not of Kings in their high degrees; of brothers who dwell in a house together, and not of them who fit in Thrones : Ob how pleasant is this Feast? said a solitarie churle to one of his humour, who did answer as bitterly, Tes, if thou wert not alive to enjoy it: That which this hater of mankind said of his Table, may be rightly said of Soveraignty, where a Prince can never sit at ease, or secure but when he fits alone. God made man after his own Image; and how can Kings be faid to be his Image, but in taking care that they admit not any to resemble them. Royalty like Rivers, if divided, flow and fall into shallow streames. which either quickly freeze, or are speedily dried up. In this example, Don Ramir is like a Rock in the Sea, rather to be avoyded by Princes then imitated; if any shall be so weak to permit their reason to be so deluded. Monarchy (as the Greek word hath the signification) is not separable, and the Scripture warranteth, that no one can well ferve two Masters. Having now concluded of one too excessive in his bounty, let us treat of a Prince more judicious and wife; who though he graced his favourite with great honours, and liberall dignities, yet was more morally and divinely prudent. JAM Esthe First, King of England came to that Crown by the testament and death of Queen Elizabeth, those, who knew that her Majesty had put to death the Queen of Scots, his Mother designed to oblige the King to revenge that injury, by purifying those who were the Ministers, and Counsellors of that violent and sad accident, and so to revenge the blood of Mary Queen of Scots with the blood of those Creatures who contrived her death. It is a subject so delicate and tender as not to be touched or decided without his great judgement and reason, whose Kingly examination could determine so weighty a difference: He was another Solomon, and exalted Reason and Philosophy with him to his Throne.

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Kings have their Periods; by Dame Natures date, The poore man dies, so doth the Potentate; And though to & Worlds eye Kings seeme compleater. Their standing high, makes but their fall the greater trugpan scale.



KING JAMES TO THE

F I did not know (most noble, and faithfull Cofen) that he, who in the Scriptures is called the
God of vengeance, is also stilled the God of Mercy; It
might prove a peece of great difficulty to my
reason what to resolve in this tickle point, and
whether I were better to endeavour a generall alteration of whatsoever Queen Elizabeth settled,
who caused my Mother to be put to death; or to

countenance and maintain thoseglorious actions, which were done by that Virgin Queen, who made me King of England. For as Soveraignes are the Images of Divinity (if the second Attribute corrects not the severitie of the first) I were obliged certainly in duty to require blood for blood, and not afcend the Throne without refolving to canfe those to afcend a Scaffold, and there to dye, through whose violent counsels the loft her head, from whom I received my breath. But as vindicative fuffice is not ever necessary, let us examine curiously a circumstance which so equally concerns mine own glory, and my Kingdoms happinesse. Let us confider whether I had better to punish, or pardon, whether the works of Injuries ought to harbour in Princes breafts or whether they may not more prudently forget, then chastise them. It is not (I protest) otherwise, but as often as the Image and memory of the Queen my Mother is represented to my fancy, my thoughts are afflicted deeply, and I resent strongly, that no Christian, nor prophane policy can permit me to live with honour, and without immortall infamy. if I cause not those to be put to death, who contrived and coun-Telled to take away her life; (for when I recollect that a Soveraigne Queen, the Daughter, Sifter, and Wife of great Kings; whose Infancie was protected under the Crown of Scotland, whose riper years advanced her to the Crown of France, who bore Illustrious Diademsupon her head, whose hand swated two glorious Scepters, who in her Widdowhood faw my felf her Son a King . Confider (I fay) a Princeffes attended with fo many heaps of glory, after the wasconstrained to fly from her own Kingdome, and was most ingloriously committed to prison, where extreamity forced her to make her confinement her Afyle; where (after the languishing of twenty years) receiving no air but through some windows, and as if a prison had been weary of her company, not to go out but to ascend a Scaffold, and not to bee discharged of her sufferings but by the hand of an Executioner ; and

then her head to be cut off ignominiously, which had borne two Royall Crownes, the representation of these circumstances are so terrible, that they obfuscate and trouble my reason, and render me incapable to have any other thoughts but what are surprized with fad confusions, to behold such a dolefull spectacle, which possessed all my appprehensions with terrour and Amazement. Yes (my Lord) I fee with weeping eyes this most unfortunate Queen, whose hair s have grown white rather with griefe and discontent then age, and that tears furrowed her beauty, and not her length of daies: How funest and direfull must my conceptions be, looking upon her prison all hanged with black, and funerall flames lighting her to the Chambers of death, where nothing presented any beauty or constancy but her Majesty attended with Patience, and the Vertue of a Divine Soul. The eyes of all the Spectators broakeup, as fresh Fountaines, over-swelling with tears of sorrow; her very Enemies, if they did not weep, yet blusht for shame, or waxt pale for griefe: The whole World felt an inundation and new floud of grief; forrow, and sadnesse possessed all who considered of this unfortunate event, except her self encouraged by her innocency, supported by her Majestie; the Executioner himself (by his sad countenance and trembling hand) expressed the thoughts of his heart, his feares to strike, his willingnesse to save her. But in the end (Maugre all this universal compassion) her fair head fell to the ground, her scarlet blood trickled from her veines, and her pulses keeping no longer time, that beautifull Creature was rendred a dead Corpes. All these circumstances pleade aloud in my breast for vengeance, and remove my resolutions utterly from the thoughts of pardon; The Queen my dear Mother had a foul so inured with afflictions, that she was not terrified at the approach of death, noramazed with the horrour of that punishment, which was ready to furprize her with fo strong a violence, but even in that Agonie expressed her maternall thoughts and care of me, her generous kindnesse was such to me, that her bitter afflictions could not obstruct her tender affections to her Son. No, not when she was ascending her infamous Scaffold, it becomes me then not to forget her ascending to my Throne. Griefe did not seize upon her reafon, though Death upon her Body, and it is fit then that joy should not now give a chock to mine; and though we could not hinder her death, wee cannot do lesse then punish those that caused it. In all these recollections, I cannot make any reparation to her, her recovery being impossible nor to my felf, by the revolving over of those occurrencies, but cause new additions of griefe and sorrow, which are most naturall and proper for the passions of a Sonne: It is neither wifedom nor Religion to be too violent in any extreamity. To proceed then to a more exact examination; the Royall and Prudent Queen Elizabeth may incurre a censure in the World as lesse politique and wise, who permitted her felf to be perswaded to so horrible an action: And as for this example, it is of too dangerous a Nature for Princely qualities to imitate; It is certain that the persons of Kings and Queens, like Temples and Altars, are more facred, and all care is to be used that they be not demolished, no nor rudely touched; and a resolution to summon such to judgement agrees not with Royall persons, nor justice and reason. The Lawes, which (without doubt) fearch out Rules for the order

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of all things, and admit no crime to passe without impunity, yet never found out nor ordered any Castigation or punishment for Royall persons. The Lawes bear a respect to t eir Masters, and Legisla. ors in all Na tions, and they are not to submit to their Severity; and although they command therest of all the whole universe, yet (in their sence in this matter) they proclaim to all the World, that their being and dependency is of Kings, and that Soveraignes are not subordinate and dependant to them. It belongs to Princes to punish the Crimes of their People, and to none but God to punish the Crimes of Prin es. The Queen then though Noble, and in other things a most excellent Princesse, was Enormious and irregular in these proceedings, in which the forbore not to spill the blood of one of equal quality with her self, that cennot but perpetuate to her memory a black reputation, and the example is so exceedingly strange, that it findeth no president in any Antiquity. In effect, it Kings are to submit to ordinary justice, the Majesty of Thrones is dissolved, when they are forced to the Scaffold. their Scepters are prophaned, and Monarchy growes transformed into Anarchy, and if such a Rigorous progresse be admitted, the soundations of Royallty will be everted, Princes will be robbed of the respects and duty of their people, and they deprived of their protection and be confounded; This would Eclips the splendor of the most imperiall Crownes, and destroy the magnificence of the most secured Thrones, Scepters, and Robes of Royallty be contemptible, and venerable Majesty be in no value or estimation, the sacred Character (which distinguisheth Crownes) would be defaced, and Kings would not only cease to retain their Royall Dignity, but surcease to be the Image of God. After all these considerations let us examine who ther it be consistant with my renown to receive the Crown of England, and to make use of that Soveraign power to revenge these particular injuries: And whether that hand which gave me the Crowne ought not to be respected in the person of her cruell Counsellors, who transported her to cause the Queen of Scots to dye. Those who judiciously consider affairs without partiality, and preoccupation, can judge, that Revenge onely belongeth to God, and that the Asts of justice, not of vengeance belongs to Kings. Such judgements conclude that Princes can reward or punish, and referre the vindicative part to God himself, for Revenge (in what shape soever it appears,) duth not ordinarily spring or proceed, but from the motion of a violent passion, when reason is in troubles and deprived of liberty; Fury is a companion of Revenge, and throws down immoderate bounds, and limits hatred exasperateth futy, and sets revenge in such an addresse as this, effects not only extream injustice, but likewise most horrid cruelties It is most jest then to transfer the revenge of injuries to Godhimself, who (free from passion) can punish without hat ed or fury. If the case be so with all men in generall, how prone may Princes prove to outrages? their passions do not like greater bodies turne with slower motions, but are as swift and terrible as lightning; they whose power is greater, their displeasure is too apt to grow more dangerous. Yet (my Lord) perhaps you will tell me this discourse is rather a Morall then a Politicall argument. To that I answer, that with virtuous Princes, these two things, justice and mercy ought to be inseparable, and as twins to their mothers breafts, they are to be equally admitted to Kings Couns cells

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cells, where they may propose or dispute, but never directly oppose each other: principally when the Matter is important. Tistrue, Tyrants call but one of these to their resolute deliberations', but a Christian Prince must have the company of both in the dispensation of all their Royall Offices; be not you amazed then if I admit her who is more Sage and wife to speak first, before we admit the other, who, as we account, is more bold and hardy, and if on this subject I appeal to her, whose assistance I judge necessary to oppose the other. It is true, the noise of the second (who is more loud) is more commonly heard, but the advise of both is best, and more conformable to Christian Government; But seeing there is no matter which according to the fancy of the Artists may not be discoloured, and so the Complection altered, what appearance (will some one say) presented it self to impress a resolution in the Kings of France and Spain to revenge the death of Mary Steward Queen of Scots, and can you who are a Son do lesse? what security can you fancy your selfe to affie in those who werein the Counsells, and who drew up the processe, and made themselves Peeres to a Soveraign Queen, and then to pronounce a sentence of death against her? The names of Thomas Bromley Lord Chancellor, of william Burleigh Lord Treasurer, of Edward Earle of Oxford Lord Chamberlaine, of George Earle of Salisbury Lord Marshall of England, of Ambrose Earle of Warnick Master of the Ordnance, of Henry Earle of Derby, of George Earle of Cumberland, of Edward Earle of Rutland, of Henry Earl of Pembrook, of Henry Earle of Lincolne, and those others, these names (I say) do present not onely horrour to those who then effectively condemned the Dowager of France and Queen of Scots to death; but do derive the same to all those who shall beare those titles, with a black stain of injustice and dishonour. Think you that those who have been so severe and rigorous to the Mother, can ever be reduced to be loyall and obedient to her Son? at least, doc you believe that you can ever confide in them, or they in you, seeing that they have been so cruel to a Princess, & caused her imprisonment twenty years, who in all right, ought not to have been under their command? were they not over bold to lay their hands on my most dear Mother, when they confidered that I her Son was lawfull successour to that Crown? how might I give credit to their words or counsells, but rather expect their designes to ruine my self, my Queen and Children, who had been so barbarous to root up that Royall stock which bare me? may not I rather be jealous that those who had provided an Executioner for the Mother, would have found out a Regicide for me? and upon this juncto of Reasons, might not they fear my resolutions. thus inraged to exterminate them and their posterities? see (my Lord Duke)those reasons which oblige me to decry and destroy what ever Qu. Eliz. and her party did, in causing the death of my Royal Mother: from these arguments I can hardly resolve to maintain and countenance Qu. Elizabeths actions, though the discovered her willingnesse to my Succession, to make me King of England. O (my Lord) there is yet a fecret within my foul which makes me conclude that it feems just that I should revenge the cruelty of these Barbarous Polititians, which motion if I did not restraine with more piety and greater prudence; the Reign of Henry the Eight, should not be more full of terrour and consusion, then that of James the First, and England thereby see and

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teele more strange alterations then ever it had endured before. this Resolution the Tombe of the Queen my Mother should bee covered with the spoyls of her, and my cruell Enemies; and revenge should be so full of blood as capable to inspire terrour into all, who should be spectators of that action. This might be a means more securely to preserve the heads of all Kings from the conspiracy of such violent, and evill Counsellors. Though this policy (at first notion) might feem prevalent and most forcible to perswade my resolution, yet other fuccesses have administred cause and reasons for other determinations. Seeing that very hand which figned the Warrant for my honoured Mothers death, figned the Declaration which caused me to be proclaimed King of England. And as to this particular, I am as well bound to acknowledge and reward so high a favour, as to revenge so high an injury. I am not ignorant how that in this folemn action, that Queen gave me no more then what was mine own by a just inheritance, and succession; and that by her Royall Testament she did no more then confirm what was declared to me by King Henry the eight; yet if this Princess had pleased, shee might have declared that which might not have proved so advantagious to my expectations; shee might have objected, that my dear Mother the Queen had not been of the Religion imbraced in England, that though the were a Queen, yet the was a Stranger: And as for my felf, that I was the Son of her whom she had caused to be destroyed: She might have caused her Father King Henry his Will to be cancelled & annulled in Parliament, the might have made another, and so have made a Favourite, or (if she had pleased) her people her Heir: These difficulties might have obstructed my ascent, and passage to the Crown. Besides, in this Act, if she did not repair, and render satisfaction for her cruel error, yet she manifested to all the world her resentment and detestation of what she had done, by recompencing her evill for good; and that having been circumvented by persons as unjust as wicked, she could elect, or follow better counsels; and if her jealousse and malice had so far transported her, as to cause her to put my Royall Mother to death, it was not through those passions, that she caused me her Sonne to be crowned. The ill humour of malice is not easily purged, nor quickly abandoned, it usually reacheth not onely the person hated, but all concomitants and relations near. Children and Kindred grow odious wherea Parent is in detestation, and dislike; this infection reacheth often to those who are of a name; and (perhaps) stops not, but groweth epidemical, and producethodium to a Nation. In the effects of this Queens proceedings I find other operations, the Queen expresseth no malice to my person, but rather on the contrary, studies my honour, and endeavours my Coronation: And from hence I may most rationally conclude, that some secret maxim, and policy of State put a resolution to that savage action; and consequently if any duty binds me to forget her memory who caused my Mother to dye, or being the Son of so great a Queen; yet in all the rules of gratitude and prudence, I am bound to honour and respect her Noblenesse and great favours to me, whom she adopted her Son, and Successor to her Throne. But (may fome one object) will it not be enough that you eternize not her memory by prejudicial manifestoes to her honour and reputation, that you destroy not her Tomb, and that you permit her Ashes to sleep quietly in repose, but that you must continue your Royall Authority in the hands of those Ministers which were her creatures, and let them stil enjoy those high offices wherein they exercised fuch unheard of inhumanity, and in persons, who made no scruple to put his Mother to death, who was heir aparent to the Crown, and could not fail (if he survived) to be their soveraign? I confesse (my Lord) this reason is very strong and sound, and the answer that I shall make is no lesse. I told you before she acknowledged me to be her heir, and adopted me her Son, so that in should have revenged her actions with feverity, I should most imprudently have presumed to have censured the errors and deviations of my greatest benefactor too bitterly, and like impious children, not onely have hated the vices, but the person of so great a Queen: But good Children, though they may hate unjust proceedings of their Parents, are not onely to forbear to punish, but are obliged to cover and conceal their errours and infirmities; To distinguish perfectly betwixt the crimes and the offendors, who (though never so Culpable) yet they can hold them worthy of honour and admiration. We may weep then bitterly for the death of the Queen my Mother, and yet not proceed to an accusation, or be severe to Queen Elizabeth, since the one was my Mother by Nature and blood, & the other made me a Son by her election when the lived, and her Testament (when the dyed) left me a Crown. Adoption (in all ages) hath been received as an action not to be violated, but with great injustice, and venerable history (in her antiquity) accompanies truth with her examples, and boldly tells us, that we owe an equal respect to those who have adopted as really as to those who have given birth unto their Children. Adoption hath conveyed Crownes and Empires often to those who have beene received and acknowledged by all the World in their Thrones and Soveraignty: and 'tis just to imagine that the choicest respect is ever due to the bounty of the Adopter. Parents who give us our Nativity, do not alwaies leave us an inheritance, which perhaps fortune or ill events have deprived from them; but those who in their Election freely transferre their estates to us, their gift, as it is most admirable for its merit, fo it ought to be more noble in acceptance, and confequently their voluntary choice may feem (if possible) to oblige us more, then our Naturall Parents. When first we come into the World, our Parents cannot but incline with tender affection unto us; the cause of that passionate and tender quality is a secret and mystery concealed in our bloud, and rifeth from the inclinations of Nature, and yet that amity (how strong soever) seemes not to differ much from the instinct of brutes, which naturally forceth their love and care towards their young ones. But in Adoption, there is another operation, there is an affection and choice, and that springs not rudely from sence, but from the strength of reasons, where the Agent strictly examines the object, before it fall in love with it, and dotes not with fancy, but with wisdome, before it orders gifts or setleth possessions. In effect I am very certain, if Queen Elizabeth had not believed that my Soul had been more inclined to generolity, then revenge, the would not have commended her Soveraignty and Crown to me, the would not have acquitted all her favorites, and remitted her Scepter to my hands: there would not have been wanting persons, neither within nor without the Kingdome, capable enough to support or defend a Scepter.

Scepter. We may resolve then, if she have called me to the Throne, it was because she judged me worthy, because she believed it appertained to me, because she hoped I would render respect to her memory, and never violate or break those bonds of love; and having regard to the Noblenesse of her favours towards me, I might be more firmly obliged from all thoughts of Revenge, in a matter clean out of the reach of reparation; and to which, oblivion and filence prescribed the best remedies. Do not you believe (my Lord) if (at my comming to the Crown) I had filled the Prisons with the Grandees of the Kingdome, who were the chiefe Authors of my Mothers death, and had commended to the great Offices of the Kingdome fuch ignorant perfons, who had had no imployment or trust under Queen Elizabeth, think you not that such a suddaine alteration would have caused a speedy generall Confusion over all the Kingdom, and that at my first accesse to the Crown, I might seem to govern neither with safety nor honour? Should I have banished those bloudy Councellors, all the fecrets and mysteries of State might have been discovered to forraign Princess some of them were Ministers, and imployed under King Edward the Sixth, someunder Queen Mary, & others under Qu. Elizateth, who was too wife to discharge those whom she judged fit for continuance in such high imployments, though they had been prime parties in other factions, and violent Enemies against her person and interest. Yet (may one object) she had no occasion to think on Revenge, for those who caused her Mother Anne Bullen to be put to death, and were Councellors and abettors of that act, they were dead long before Queen Elizabeth began to Reign. But I shall easily answer to that: her actions were chiefly imployed for the conservations of her selfe, for during the Reign of her Sister Queen Mary, she being unjustly fuspected to have been a conspirator with those who indeavoured to hinder the match with Spain; the Privy Councell concluded that shee deserved the same destiny as Jane of Suffolk, and was in danger to have lost her head; of which result in Councell, the Lady Elizabeth not being ignorant, waited with patience her better fortune; and after comming to the Crown, she preserved in memory their names, who had been such desperate Councellors against her, and in processe of time, the met with opportunities to revenge those particular injuries; but upon new and fresh pretences. We are not then to be lesse prudent then the, whose dangers are as great, and bufinesse as infinite: Besides, in this action of her adoption, she hath not onely aimed at my renown, but likewise at the repose and welfare of the people, so that her example guideth me in the paths of policy, and not to provoke and anger the Hornets nests, when I may passe by quietly (without the least murmuring) to my Crown. If then I should be superactive in such a dangerous design, in whose sidelity and strength might I confide? the number of the offendors is not so inconsiderable, as to perswade me to dream that I can destroy them in a moment; and as for relation to themselves, they are not onely acquainted with all mysteries of State; but they are likewise active Ministers of state in the chiefest places of the Kingdom, wherein as they have gained much Treasure, so doubtlesse they have obtained the hearts of the people, whereby a greater difficulty would arise if I should contest rashly against such a party. Besides to commence a Reign with a Civill War,

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were to put the State and Kingdom in a capacity of defolation, and fuch a violent motion might invite the people to fuch a hatred of me, that they might be hardly or never reconciled. If I had resolved on this course, an hundred thousand Innocent persons might have perished in the design of a revenge of a few notorious Counsellors, this had been to undertake a great Evill for the bringing to effect a little good. If I should exterminate all, whom I neither can, nor ought to love, fuch a Revenge would produce but a feeble fatisfaction. The bloud of Kings is to pretious too be latisfied with the blood of Subjets, and all that I might do (in fuch a re-encounter) might prove unworthy of a Royall Prince, who (as I said before) honoureth Vertue and Morality as well as Policy. The oblivion of injuries is an Ast every way as noble as revenge: And in some cases more glorious, principally then when one forgets not an outrage which he dares not revenge, onely because his wisdome judgeth it not fit. In this occasion, I ought seriously to consider that I do not onely receive the Scepter from the hands of a woman, but from her who hath swayed it very gloriously, and hath raigned with honour, from a Lady who knew how to govern in peace, and vanquish in War, who could stop and prevent revolts as well as defend her self from forraigners: And could force her subjects and her neighbours to fear her if they did not love her; and was fo fortunate as who triumphed over all' who ever dared to oppose her. leave you then to judge (my Lord Duke) if a Prince whom so illustrious a Queen called to the Throne, should begin his Reign by the destruction of all, which she had maturely established. If I should not give occasion to all men to believe, that the Kingdom would be speedily reduced to diforders, and confusion: And consequently nothing to be expected but Ruine and desolation. It is very important that the first Action of Princes should presage the symptomes of their Reign, and foretell their last conclusions. Wherefore in the first step to a Throne, the Prince is obliged to depose and set apart all passion, and admit no company to that Royall feat but true Glory: The memory of what is past is not so necessary as the confideration of what is present, and a provision of what is to come: In which high degree, it will be an addition of Renown to outstrip and surpasse in vertues all who have preceded. The Prince (if he be wife) will prepare his desires not to revive the errors of his predecessors, nor to publish them, but to avoide them; and I could not but beguilty of injustice, if I should dare to declare my self absolute Judge of the Actions of Queen Elizabeth, who suffered her wisedome to hearken to those Counsellors, whom she judged most able for her advice. Her Actions are not to be examined by any alive, but onely God in his Tribunall: the same obligation which should have preserved her from causing the Queen of Scots to dye, forbiddeth me to intermeddle in the censure of her Royall proceedings. So that if I honour her memory, it was because she was a Queen, if I cover and hide her errors, it is because she made me her Adopted Son, if I continue her creature in the imployment of mine affairs, it is because the Kingdomes safety and repose requires it. As for private injuries, as they are commonly betwixt the subjects, they are lesse considerable with Princes. That famous Roman spoke not amiss. Who said, that Cafars Erection of Pompeys Statues might better secure his own, and makes me apprehend (in this argument) that a confirmation of what

Queen Elizabeth did, may better ratifie what I shall establish during my Reign, and that respect which I render to her memory, will be presented to my person, and that I shall act nothing tending towards her honour, but what shall reflect to mine advantage. The change of great Officers in a Kingdome is little leffe dangerous then the change of the Prince, which ought not to be without great and weighty considerations. Affaires of State ought not fleightly to be managed, and if a maxime be resolved on, it is more safe to proceed then dishonourably to retreat. What Variety of dangers might I expose my self and Kingdome to, if I should think fit to banish those who under the Queen have been the chiefe supporters and Governours of the State? It was not now long fince the Reformation of Religion, at which time particular Interests (under the shapes of devout pretences) promoted those terrible alterations; should I then think of dying Thames in bloud, as my Ancestors had done not long before. I know, I cannot (with mine own honour) stain their reputation, but I may be defended if I onely remember their errours the better to avoid thems let us then think it fit, not to hearken to that bloudy Policy which establisheth not Thrones, but with the ruine of those who ought to support it; Who pardon none with Clemency, but injustly condemn the least appearances of evill, and in satisfaction to their owneambition, bear no respect to the highest quality of men, and reverence no sex, no lawes, nor virtue her selfe: but (on the contrarie) let us hearken to that rationall Policy which foundeth Thrones and Crownes in the preservation of the Grandees, which hath inclinations mercifully to pardon and condemn not to an extremity; who can honour a Royall person in her Tombe, who can reverence Lawes and vertue to fuch a degree, that he hath respect for her memory, who would not be satisfied, but with the bloud of his Mothers. I know some are of opinion, that a tempestuous commencement prepares a way to a more secure Reign; but in my judgement (on this occasion) that Policy is too desperate; for if I pardon all who have offended, it is impossible but some party should be affected with my generofity; and if I should punishall, I should inevitably multiply mine Enemies, in their Kindred, in their Friends, and their dependencies; who (on such a Provocative pretence) might raise an Army against me, which (in all probability) may prove no lesse valiant then that sacred bond of the Anzents, who being armed, marched with greatest violence to revenge the death of their Father, their Brothers, and their Friends. Yet you will answer me, things of greatest difficulty (being effected) render the most absolute duty. To that I reply, if they be injust, they ought not so much as to be attempted. True glory doth not ever attend the most hardy enterprize, and matters of greatest difficultie. Moreover a Prince ought not to expose the lives of his subjects to the perill of death, whether it be in War or Peace, without great necessity, and prudent consultation; for their blood is the most pretious and sole Jewell, of which he ought to have the most exactest care, and hee had rather be sparing and thristy of that choicest Treasure, then of all other of his Estate. For it is for that principally, for which he shall render an accompt to him who gave him Soveraignty: Who permits him not (above all other restraints) to be abusive and prodigall of his subjects blood. From the considerations of these reasons, we incline to save the lives of our subjects, and (at our

first coming to the Crowne) rather chose to court our enemies with the favour of Clemency, then to correct them with the Rod of Justice. On these grounds we shall render honour to the memory of Queen Elizabeth, & countermanding our naturall affection with reason, and policy we will make the whole world confesse that we are not unworthy to Reigne & to enjoy our Princely Throne. Passing by then our Royall Mothers hearse, let us look up towards the Throne, to which the Queen of England hath prepared and facilitated our ascent; let us fuspend that tendernes of Soule which might dissolve us with teares, and minde nothing more, but true noblenesse and generosity, remembring, it belongeth to a Prince properly to pardon private injuries, and that it is a chiefe point of wisdome not to lose faire and fit occasions; for in an observation so seasonable the Estate and publick good may be more highly advanced, and more folid Lawes ordained for their preservation. In these resolutions we embrace and welcome our present condition, concluding, that the generall repose of the Kingdome requires it, that mine owne glory consents to it, and that my Soule is resolved to maintaine, by a difinteressed vertue all that Queen Elizabeth established, who though she tooke away the life of my Mother, commended a Crowne and Kingdome to me her Sonne.

The Censure.

IT is a question very Problematicall, and a controverse much disputed among Politicians, whether Clemency or Rigour be more necessary or profitable for Princes, and which of the two render their Kingdome more peacefull and glorious. Both opinions want not frong defendors; fince the world began, this question hath not received a full resolution: some affirme 'tis better to be loved then feared; others, that it is better to be feared then loved; each one (in the order of his contention) fortifies his opinions and arguments; Rigour pretends to carry more of Maje Sty, Clemency hath a beame of glory, which feemeth to kine with more humanity; the one saies she rules more securely, the other that she raignes more honourably; both strive to be are away the Palme. A famous Politician feared not to fay, that a Prince ought to puffe at that infamy which seemeth to staine his reputation, because he was cruell; the reason is because that quality renders his subjects more obedient. But (in my opinion) this is to set on fire the Temple of Diana. When Machiavell broached this false proposition he prepared an infamous memory to himselfe, which his booke still retaines. In effect, if glory be certainly the proper object of renowned princes, how can they support infamy as a matter indifferent? And how can that Prince who Reigns without honour live a moment without danger? We cannot be ignorant of that antient sentence, he who scornes his owne life may easily become Master of anothers; and what can provoke a man to be more violent and desperate, then the cruelty and injustice of him who commands in chiefe? Machiavell (the malitrous Florentine) staide not at his first proposition, but he said, twere good for a Prince to be loved & feared; but seing it is a thing impossible to enjoy both these passions at one time, in case either should faile, it is much better to be feared then loved. Why should that branded Polititian make feare and love impossible and inseparable? could be be ignorant that all the vertues consist in a concatenation, and are linked together? Justice and Cle-

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mercy are not incompatible though they sceme (almost) contrary. Didhe never read in the holy Scriptures, that the feare of the Lord is the beginning of Wildome? Or would be conclude thence this abomin ble confequence, that because one was obliged to feare God, that therefore it was impossible to love hin? did he pretend to teach the world policy, and inflead thereof produce Athersme? Did he not know that there is as well a thigh as a fervill feare, which fecond (though it be without Love) yet the first malkes with love hand in hand ? This bewitching Spirit farther adds, Men love according to their owne pleafare, but they feare according to the pleasure of their Prince, who if judicions and wife ought to rely cheerfully on that strength which d pends on himselfe, and not on that Transient humor which depends on the people. Where doth Machiavill finde that the Prince is not interessed to gaine his peoples love aswell as their feare? Are not graces and favours as well in his hands as the Sword of justice? and as forthose who feare him, are they utterly uncapable of his honour and respect? It is an ancient precept, if thou wilt be beloved thou must be loving. This is naturall, an innecent Magicke and works infallibly as well betweet Kings and Subjects as private persons. He who maketh freindship his treasure may be liberall, when he pleaseth without danger of profusion. That Author was a groffe flatterer and spake little truth, who stiled Hanniballs cruelty a vertue, for in the same Argument he concluded Clemency a vice. The holy Scriptures warrant that Abyssus Abyssum invocat, and the Miralists tell us, that vices are link'd and chain'd together as well as vertues. To conclude then, this Juditions and wife King hath been the disciple of a better Master, and learned his Christian pollicy in a better Schooll; he well understood that golden saying of Antiquity, Ne quid nimis: and he had (doubileffe) read in the French History, that it became not the King of France to revenge the quarrels of the Duke of Orleance, and likewife it confifted not with the wifdome of the King of England to revenge the quarrells of the Queen of Scots, and therefore this most learned and prudent Prince did proceed judiciously, and the selicity of his raigne hath left an affured testimony of his wisdome to all the world. But seeing we are now in England, let us discourse of another famous King who raigned in that Throne: and examine another question as equally important and of as great curiofity to be determined: an example which hath no: any impression in histories of Antiquity Henry the seventh, who before he came to the Crown) was filed Duke of Richmond, after be had been a long time banished and an exile returned into England in the head of an Army: and gave battle to Richard the third, a Prince of the house of Yorke, who had a urped the Cromne, Henry having given anintire defeate flew the usurper, and made himself absolute Master of the Kingdome's being then at the point to enter into London (the Metropolis of the Kingdome) he discreetly deliberated how he should receive the Crowne, whether as conqueror or lawfull heir to the house of Lancaster, or as husband to Elizabeth, Sifter and Daughter to the la e King of England over whom the Tyrant had usurped. See here his reasons, in preference of the second before the other two, to confirme a right of succession without prejudice to that of conquerour for that Title of the Queen his wife.

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HENRY THE SEVENTH TO THOMAS STANLEY.

T is not enough for a Prince to know how to vanquish (faithful and loyall Stanley) but it is necessary for him to understand how to make use of his victory; The Battail which I have gained, must not so transport m'e with joy & exaltation, as to perswade me to a security in my present condition; but that I must think how to make my joyes lasting and

durable. I know well my Enemy is dead, his Army defeated, his Tyranny destroyed, the bloud Royall revenged, that all England rejoyceth at my successes, and that the Souldiers, by their publique and generall acclamations, have proclaimed me King, that the Princeffe Elizabeth attendeth for my espousall, and that you brave Stanley) have put that Crown upon my head which Richard Barha warly usurped from his innocent young Nephew King Edward. Yet before I receive this Royall Honour, it becomes me to examine, by what title and right I may most judiciously entertain it. The Scepter appertaineth to me in severall and different rights, which may hereafter prove as different effects; therefore I judge it very proper to advise what choice may prove most necessary to mine advantage, and most glorious for my renown. In these different titles, I am not ignorant that neither the time nor the place are (at present) convenient for so confident a debate in a matter of so great importance; Being yet in the Camp after so bloody a battail, where I am invironed with so many dead and dying Friends, and Enemies, where the outcry of some for their wounds, and the acclamations of others for victory, makes fuch strange confusion, where some are so elevated with joy and honour, others are tumultuously transported with the spoiles, and prey of the field, where the Victors are fo tryumphant, and the subdued E. nemies so afflicted and dispierced: I am not ignorant (I say) that it might become me rather to be Tryumphant with my Army, or to think of my repose, (after so great a battail as hath been fought) then to amaze my felf with reasons and arguments on this subject; but I know (most valiant Stanley) that Conquerors are never meary, and it may be faid truly of me, that I fought not now fingly for honour, as illustrious Romans have often done, whom nothing perswaded to the War but the design of a Noble reputation; No, it was for the Throne and Crown of England that I dared and fought with Richard, now



Titulum ne horresce novantis, Non rapit Imperium vis tuazfed recipit. Ausonius de Seuero.

now destroyed it become me to lay firm and fure foundations for my future Reign, and Government: to effect which thing with judgement, I must examine how I ought to receive the Grown, whether Tryumphantly as Conqueror, or pretending to espouse Elizabeth the Daughter and Sifter of the late King of England, or elfe as Heir of the house of Lancaster, receiving the rights of that Royall Family with defign of prejudice to that of York, because the Nobles of the Kingdome had been favourable to that house, whence Princes Elizabeth def cended, and have condemned the Rights and title of that of have after in so many Parliaments. The first is a Title as hardy and bold as glorious, the fecond was facile to be effected, but the third and last is certainly the best, though it may appear more difficult and dangerousbut to confider these three apart, let us examine first if that right of Conqueror may not lay the foundation ftrong enough to bear up the Title and Crown of the King of England, without a dependency and Co-affiftance of that of Marriage with Princeffe Elizabeth , or that of Inheritance and pretence to the lright of descent to the house of Lancaster. I am well affured (generous Snanley) that if you shall demand my judgement and opinion in this difficulty (baying found the Crown which Riebard woare amongst the booty and spoiles of the field, and having come to place it on my head) I am affured (Hay) that you wil conceive my judgment may conclude, that I have no reason nor occasion to dream of Elizabeths Integor to look to far as the house of Lanca Ster, nor to confider the bloud of either house : but that I should receive the Crown as Conquerour, and the reward of Victory; and so presented from thy hands to him, who came to defeate and destroy the usurper Richard, and by this sole conquest could now as eafily mount unto the Throne as give the prey & spoils of the field to the Souldiers of my Army. In effect it may be faid; that Force and power are the chiefest supporters of Monarchy, and founds ion of Empires, these create the Grandure of Republiques, these founded Rome, and made her great and glorious, till (at last) the became Mistris of the World. And as these did put up, fo they pull'd down that glorious Empires the same fate raised the Monarchies of the Affrians of the Medes and Persians, of the Parihians, and Grecians, and so many famous Governments, of Athens, Lacedemon, and Thebessiand of many others, which have commanded and ruled, and ceased to Reign by the forrune and fate of force and power, which alone have raised and destroyed Kingdomes fince the first Creation of the World. Forer bath as well made legitimate Kings as barbarous usurpers , and the wheele of fortune could not turne to the Eversion of Crownesand Thrones without the conjunction of her affistances and noble Titles, and the way to true Glory and renown, are commonly made by her: Shee looks not after Pedigrees, nor fearches after the Genealogies of Princes, who Reignes within this Title; the hath no occasion of Manifestoes to delude a popular Credulity, and to deceive and amaze the Grandees of a Kingdome. It sufficeth her to say, I have vanquished, I have gained the battail, my Enemy is dead, his Throne belongs to me, and if the same force which made me vanquish, can maintaine and support my power, I am King, I will raigne gloriously. See (fage Stanley) what they will fay, who be perswaded that force and power makes a Title to be just and right. It is true, that fome small com-

mencements of war have laid great foundations to future hopes, and powerfull possessions of Soveraignety have drawne on securely popular faith, and dutifull fulmissions. And certainly (I thinke) before Religion fet bounds to unlimited ambition of Princes, this kind of Right was not only practifed and permitted, but seemed most secure and serviceable; and (as to my felfe) I have had this advantage, that I have chased from the Throne him who had usurped it by force, and not only so, but basely by treason, and the violent death of his Prince and his owne nephews, and by fuch murders and execrable Crimes, that the very mentioning and remembrance thereof, may amaze with horrour; and it seemeth to me more reasonable & possible that (these circumstances considered) a Conqueror having vanquished so bloody an usurper, might be well received as a legitimate Prince, and yet how glorious soever this title may feem, I judge it fit to renounce it on this occasion, rather then to hazard to loofe that which I have now fo fortunately and honourably gained. Who knowes not but that those Souldiers who marched with me to Combat with the Tyrant might for sake me, if I (after the victory) became as horridan oppressor as Richard. And who knowes but that the Nobles and Grandies of the Kingdome might be as refolutely provoked against me as against the usurper, to a popular commotion and my Eternall troubles, if I tooke the Title, and then (as most necessary) subjected all things to the Conquerors will. The right of power belongeth to others as well as to me, and if I had not a Title more just. I should not have occasion to seek for one that is evill; which if (at prefent) it may ferve me, might as well ferve others in their turne. Tis true to begin to reigne with such resolution, might have the reputation of hardy and glorious; but such violence could not continue to any long duration of time; an entire age (at least) might be required to corroborate (with all the arts of policy and power of Sword) a conquest of this kinde, and in conclusion (before the people would be reduced to obey without murmuring) a Prince would be constrained either to quit his Throne or loose his life, and so cease to be a King or be alive, before he could reape & enjoy the fruits of his victories. Belides(as the affaires of England stood) the Title of Conqueror might have proved too terrible to the people, and too dangerous to the Prince, at that feafon, when (in all appearances) a quality more equitable was more requisite, and it was not fit then to administer the least pretext to the people, that might exasperate their clamourous humour to decry their Princes marching towards, and not as yet securely feated in his Throne. It is alwaies an ill conjuncture when a subject renders his obeisance to his Prince, not because he conceives it his duty, but because he dares doe no otherwise; a Prince is never well served with fuch forced devoires, nor the subject well satisfied with such unpleasant Commands. Perhaps (Noble Stanley) you will tell me yet that there is a nother way whereby I may more fafely ascend to the Throne, which policy doth not onely teach me to be secure, but morality perswades me, is very heroick and nobles yes (faithfull Stanley) I know well if I espouse Princess Elizabeth, I shall not need to set forth any declarations to manifest my Title and Right to the Crowne, she being fister and daughter to the late Royall Kings; the people look upon her as the true and undoubted heire of the kingdome, And marrying her after my vanquishing of the Tyrant who slew her Brothers, and usurped

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the Crown from her, and swayed that Scepter which belonged to her; I doubt not, but for this, I should be honoured as the Liberator of the Estate, and esteemed as Heroick and Generous; that all the People would extreamly honour me, and that my moderation should be admired as most extraordinary, and infinitely valuable after such victorious successes. But, to speak truth, I should doubt extreamly if I made choice of this way, whether I might be esteemed to have been as Prudent as I had been Fortunate, and whether I had not better have received my Crown from the hands of fortune in expectation of the continuance of her favours, rather then from the hands of a Woman; for (without doubt) it is a high degree of Fortune to be advanced to be a King, but I do not think it a thing so intirely desireable to be the husband of a Queen, and (in my present apprehensions) A Throne it self is lesse lovely, when I must approach unto it onely as the chiefest subject of her whom I must espouse. effect what obedience or loyallty may I expect from a people who should not acknowledge me for their Soveraign? what submission might I expect, or honour from those Nobles, who (were I dead) might have Capacity to be successour to my relation and places what reverence might I expect from my Children, who (if my Queene should die) may become my Soveraign, and I their Subject? What (Noble Stanley) were it fit for me (having gained a Crown by my prowesseand valour) to put my self in such a condition, that I might be forced to leave it? and if my Queen should dye, to wear a mourning weed instead of a Royall Diademe? If I should accept a Throne upon these termes, I might be forced to depend upon mine own Childrens Wills and pleasure; Or (if I should have none) an other pretender might contest for my removall, and claim a right, and so I might be forced to obey whom I had commanded. No, no, this choice could not manifest absolute power, nor could this borrowed fortune fatisfie the Ambition of my Renown; this acceptation of Royall Authority might give me some splendor, but not render me truly glorious, these streames seem to flow not from the Fountain of mine own, but anothers soveraignty. Kings ought to acknowledge none for their superiours but God. I doe not conceive to be a husband and a fubject to a Queen, are qualities compatible: In one relation the hufband is to be the head in the other the wife and if the Queen intend to render her felf, and husband truly happy, it is necessary that he be her King, and so her Chiefes without which relations their condition can neither have true honour nor true content, and without them a Court were worse then a Prison, and soveraignty as little lovely as servitude. Now if she love her husband, and that by a most rare vertue, shee pleaseth to condescend so farre, as to be ruled, and Reigne by him, the Subjects will presently murmur and cry out, the King's a Tyrant to his Queen, and she but his illustrious slave. Some will speake too boldly, others complain judicioully, and some prevaile to perswade too far with infinuations and fuggestions: When his Children shall grow up to age, they will not be free from flattering inspirations to incline them to jealousies and suspitions against their Father; some will dare to inform them that he invades and usurpes the Crown, that if the Queen dye, he will neglect and have no Paternall respects for them, and that therefore they rather ought to Court the People then

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honour their Father. These suspitions are too apt (ordinarily) to grow reciprocall, and are fixed too naturally near the Souls of fuch eminent persons. Difference in opinion breeds diffention in resolution, dif. sention draweth on aversion, and aversion changeth love to hatred, and hatred breeds revolts, and revolts proclaime open warre; fo that by these degrees, discontents thrive to be irreconcileable: The people fall into greater troubles, and the Kingdom is made more ready for greater ruines and confusions. Moreover do not you think, that whether the King have Children or not (if he be noble and generous) that he will prepare a party in his Kingdom to serve his affairs, on all occasions; that whetherhis Queen be kind, sweet, & debonaire in his society or not. Moreover, how conceive you a Kingdom should be governed without many errours in the conduct, when he must necessarily have his particular interest, besides the publique, which cannot but evene and happen on many occasions? for in order to the preservation of his creatures, he will have cause sometimes to dissimulate in many things, fomteimes hee will be forced to recompence with rewards, those whose errours merit punishments, sometimes to punish them who deserve rather favours and rewards. These accidents will make him endeavour to imbezell the treasure of the State, and so make up Bankes for private uses, or to make a Warre if there be cause. And asfor peace, it can never be so perfectly established in a Kingdome, but a King must ever politiquely suspect either an insurrection of a civill Warre at home, or an invasion from abroad. And do you (brave Stanley) but imagine in what a pittifull condition is a King, who is not prepared and provided for fuch contingences. Hee ceafeth not onely to be a King, but loses his honour and reputation, as not worthy to rule. And of all the waies whereby Crownes and Kingdomes are loft, as this is most far from remedy; So it is the most weake and farre from pitty. When a Prince (in a gallant refistance) loseth a pitch'd battail in the field; Fortune can force him to yeild, and make him to fly to some Asylesis the Cities and Towns of his Kingdome doe revolt, and his subjects treacherously for sake him, he may without all dishonour seek for refuge, and search out for succour and supplies. And in his distresse, though the splendour of his glory be obscured, it is not extinguished; Though his Magnificence and power be abated, yet it is not dissolved, nor so annihilated, but that he may be encouraged with hopes, and aided by his friends and Allies, and so make a just VVarre, if he can obtaine meanes. Those Princes from whom he implores fuccours, may more possibly contribute their supplies, either through the concernment of their own interests, or their generofity; and so though his misfortunes be great, yet his ruines are not absolutely desperate. But to acquit a Crown without more then one Combate, to lose a Throne without a stroak, is a misery as dishonourable as insupportable, and such a degree of basenesse and lownesse of spirit, as dwells not in my Soul. And what dishonours and disadvantages attend not a King of base, low and ignoble qualities? If he addresset o his neighbour Princes, they will hardly looke on him as a Soveraign, or renowned person: If he presume to desire the aide of Auxiliaries and Souldiers, they will not onely have pretences, but despise & scorn the Motion: if he continue in his Kingdome without Children, what support can he expect if one of his Children be King? how

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how can he resolve and humble himself to give his Child obedience? For suppose the Queen his Consort shall (at her death) or-daine by Testament, That her Husband whilst hee liveth, shall conserve, and exercise his Soveraigne power; with how many Nayles and Thornes will his Crown bee pierced 3 and how full of troubles his Reign; with what impatience will the Successour attend; and with what splendor and authority shall that Father rule, who swayes by the will of a dead Wife; and (at no lesse) then at the pleasure, or permission of a living Son? And if casually he shall proceed to a fecond Marriage, with how many fancies and jealousies will his Son be agitated? and under this spetious pretence, to what strange defignes will he with his creatures be transported? (Generous Sianley) to receive a Crown from the hands of an espoused Princesse, were to put on a resolution to wait on her onely to her Tomb, and then to leave the Throne when the leaves her life. And feeing that all Princeffes (who are Soveraigns) have not the same resolutions for their Husbands as Isabella had for her Ferdinando: And it was not but with most incomparable virtue, that that most rare Princesse parted with her power, yet all that she was able to doe, was but a participation; and notwithstanding her affection was so great, and her virtues so superexcellent, yet where nothing could restrain her from a contestation with her Husband in her claims to her rights in the Kingdom of Leons, the didit (doubtlesse) with the greatest Modesty imaginable; yet with fo great security to her ends, as the breath of Ambition could in. spire. For it is apparent thus in all their expeditions, issuing forth in the names of Ferdinando and Isabella; and their Subjects never spake of them but plurally, the Kings royall pleasure. A word insupportable, and not to be endured by fo Princely a heart as I bear. Judge you then (I pray) if Isabella (whom History describes as a possessor of all virtues) could suppresse with the greatest difficultyes, and strip her defires of Soveraignty; how may it be expected then from a Princesse not so compleatly polished? What know I (if I become her Spouse) but the may look upon me with fcorn, as the confiders me a Subject to her Father and Brother? And who knows, but her elevated spirit may so use me as if I were her Subject? If I were now prisoner to the Duke of Britany, and Elizabeth were glorious on her Throne, and the had affections for me to redeem me out of Prison, and Crown me with her Royall favours, and put into my hands the Scepter, it may bee the closenesse of my prison might oblige me to desire liberty, and my sad condition encourage me to receive the Crown of England from her hands; but seeing she hath no more share in this Crown, but that I can with more right give it then accept it; and that it is the proper reward of mine own valour; I being now a Conquerour; and that Elizabeth without me could not have enjoyed her liberty, much lesse have pretended to a Soveraignty: It is noblenesse in me rather to offer, then receive Royal Grace from the hands of Princesse Elizabeth; and this is all that I can possibly doe, whereby the House of Lancaster (had it not right to the Crown of England) hath for ever indeared, and obliged the House of York; and in this act the world must conclude me to have been as exactly, and scrupulously obedient to the Princesse for morality and civility, as to the maximes of Policie. Yet I inherit these generous rules which have gallant and noble

noble resolutions, and which love rather to expose the hazard and loss of all, then not to gain all, and rather march undauntedly, then not fatisfie the ambition of my renown. Rights and pretences to Crowns ought to be resolute principles never to be abandoned, all other pretensions (in subordinate affairs) are admitted to their dispensations for change and alterations. But to Renown, Soveraignty, and the Right to a Crown, the resolutions ought to be so unchangeable, as not to be shaken; and to yeeld, is an indignity and basenesse sit for none of Princely birth; but is a quality more futable for the most infamous and contemptible cowards. Now as to the third way; The title of the House of Lancaster, you will tell me (perhaps noble Stanley) this seems dangerous and difficile, that the Peers and Nobles of the Kingdome have condemned the pretences and rights of the Family of Lancaster, and that the Title of York hath a more popular preference in the spirits of the people; that the Kings of latter Reigns have gained their inclinations; fo that I may passe under the censure, not of a lawfull King, but an Usurper; such a suggestion may prove a provocation to the people, and so faction beget a War, and that may continue as long as I lived. To this I answer, as before; the Rules of Policy I now follow, are generous, and hardy; wherefore I must not be swayed by any confideration of perill; I must make my way through danger, and not fuffer a diversion in so weighty a matter to my resolution. Think not, that I can easily perswade, nor prevail to turn the course of that Royall bloud which runneth in my veins, or to renounce folemnly those rights to that Crown which I have conquered, as I must (doubtlesse) if I should referre my selfe to the grace and bounty of Princesse Elizabeth, and should receive so Illustrious a Diademe from the hand of a woman: what reproach should I not receive from Posterity; if I should permit this spot to lye on the memory of my reputation? You will yet tell me, the right which I pretend hath been exploded, and condemned folemnly in Parliament. I answer 5 this condemnation savoured of as much misfortune as injustice; Great thieres, and great power robbed us of our royall right: And suppose their condemnation were just and equitable, the Rights of Conquirours are as equally Authentique; who if they have force, can justly cancell, and dissolve to nothing all former edicts and sentences of condemnation. Hee hath fought in vain who hath vanquished a Tyrant, and been a Liberator to the people from Tyranny, if he have not as equally freed himself from all oppression, and can thereby maintaine his power to enjoy what he hathgot. As for me, if I should not ascend a Throne but in the right of Elizabeth, I should onely beleeve that I have changed my prifon, and but gilded my chains: I can confesseno lesse out of my internall repugnancy to this dependant authority. Beleeve me then in the Acceptance of the Crown of England, I shall receive it either as Conquerour, or as my right descending of the house of Lancaster, and not from the hands of Elizabeth; and if I admit her to the Throne, I shall place her on my right hand, as Alexander did Darius's Queen; and yet not then until I shall have the peaceable possession of the Crown without the interruption of any of her pretences. Yet, in this refolution, I shall endeavour to spare the blood of my Subjects, for which I have reason; formy Forefathers have been their Kings; and if the last Prince of that Illustrious House of Lancaster had not been too mild and gentle,

and so more unfit to beare up the weight of so great a Scepter, I should not now lye in necessity to search for reasons to palliate and authorize my present designes. But seeing what is past cannot be recalled, that which is present must regulate that which is to come. I shall ascend then by the successive way, wherein though there may be more of danger, there may be lesse of injury. In this great action it is just that I forget not the peoples interest as well as mine owne, my Conquest shall serve me as to this end the more firmly to authorize the right of my Birth and 'descent. And as I am not ignorant how that the house of Yorke hath prevailed with the whole Kingdome to an univerfall approbation of their title, and caufed the Reignes of those Princes to be more peacefull while they ruled, more then their wisdome or policy could have prevailed: I intend no sooner to receive the Crowne, but speedily to incircle Princesse Elizabeth with me within the Line of that Royall Circumference. But still with this reserve and difference, that she shall receive that illustrious honour from my hands, and not I from hers. Wherefore I shall take order that there shall be an interval & space of time, betwixt my Coronation & my espousals, that no person in my Kingdom may be ignorant with what right I ascend my Throne. In the meane time the people that dive not so deeply into the secrecies & mysteries of State, & are more easily satisfied with spetious pretences then solid reasons will more readily honour and applaud our actions, and lesse torment themselves with murmurings or discontents; those who have affections and inclinations to the house of Lancaster will rejoyce exceedingly at my advancement to the Crowne; and those who still reserve their affections for the house of Yorke cannot be better satisfied then to see the Lawfull heire of that house to sit on the Throne with me; and if it should so chance that a civill Warre should rise, by any who should suggest that the Duke of Clarence was not dead, and that he had more right to the Crowne then the Princesse Elizabeth; I shall have this power to op pose such fals impostures, and this triple and different right to defend my Crowne's and if I owne it as Conqueror, as heire of the houseof Lancaster, and unite the title of that of rorke, what power will beable to give a check to our Princely Resolutions. All the waies which policy can invent to acquire and compasse great enterprizes, are either by open and hostile forces, or by secret and subtill craft, or with plaufible pretences to delude the people, or with reason and Arguments to perswade the Sages and Grandies of a Kingdome, these are the ordinary engines of Policy. The first is most absolute and least resisted, the second is perswasive, and effects what seemes almost impossible, the third disarmes the multitude, and the last raiseth divisions and makes parties among great ones, and prepares a disposition to hope for a victory of the Enemy: And fortune is so kinde tous to concenter all these foure advantages to my designe. First as to force; I beleeve one cannot be more assured then having gained a Battle and defeated the enemy; and feeing the Tyrant himselfe could not longer support his usurpation, who (thinke you) dare be so bold as to designeto be an usurper? To force I can joyn subtilty and craft, and what could there be better, then to intermingle fo neerly, and yet to distinguish my right & title before I did marry my right to that of Elizabeths, so to make my Authority as indivisible as indepen-

independent by a deferring of my intentions for her espoulalls, untill my affaires perswade me: And to this subtilty no pretences are wanting which may gain popular compliance and approbation; the People in this now fully fatisfied, that I act not meerly as Conqueror, nor take from any what appertaines to them; In this proceeding they will not onely be pleas'd, but seeme to enjoy their chiefest desire. To these if stronger reasons be required, what can better remove all scruple from the greatest Statesmen or Grandies of the Kingdome (too inclinable for factions, especially in high Royall differences) then to see the union of the two howses of Lancaster and Tork? and thereby an extinction (by this alliance) of those antient Quarrells which did descend with Ages, and might have lasted to a generall divastation of the Kingdome. Besides all those considerations, I find (moreover) all the vertues fatisfied by this harmonious conclusion; Generosity appeareth in my moderation, being so well tempered after fo great a Villery: for feeing that after the Conquest of a Crown, I am so deliberate, it is an infallible marke that Pride and Presumption have not elevated meabove my selfe: my Bounty and goodnesse, whereby I would preserve the people and Kingdome from the possibility of a Civill Warre, render me more reasonable, as being carefull of their good equally, as of my own. The Justice which I impartially intend to all, beginneth with Princesse Elizabeth, born so near the Throne, and renders my Heroick mind so famous, as meriting to be approved by all the World: The boldnesse whereby I have vindicated the title of all my Ancestors to the Crown of England, will speak me honourable in the eares of generous persons, and that I shall be renowned by all those who have a haughty inclination to true Magnanimity. In effect, A desire to Reign and be a King, is a thing of it self so high and noble, that I believe there was never yet any Heroick spirit who was not surprized and inflamed (above all ordinary degrees) with defire of soveraignty; yea (I am fully perswaded) that one borne from a Royal Throne, though his birth be distant and in a great remotion, yet it is impossible, but his dependencie (as a branch on that Royall stock) is reputed as the most soveraign glory and comfort of all his life, and I believe persons of Princely descent, the more they are oppressed, the more the Royall Character is imprinted in their spirits: and the more they are forced to refent of fertitude, by so much the more they desire and thirst after domination and Soveraignty: And if the power of command be a natural and universal affection in all men, how supream must their desires be, whose birth and education is so sublime? their thoughts cannot but be independant (if possible to others) and their wills would be legislative. Think not then strangly of me (brave Stanley) if intending my possession of the Crown of England, I chiefly preferre mine owne right, without Admission of a partage, or the least shadow of contestation for the title: Fortune honours me with it, as her present, yet I shall not accept it but as a fruite, growing on the stock of my Ancestors, and that my birth hath now received its right. Assist me then (I conjure thy fidelity) to fortifie my reasons in a better resistance (if there shall be cause) of opposition: tell thy friends and my subjects, that I ascend the Throne, as their lawfull Soveraign, and that I shall have more affection and tendernesse for them, as being mine owne people, then as if they were Elizabeths; let the great ones know effective-

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fectively, that I am their absolute master, and therefore have greater power, as to receive, fo to expect their fervices : let my Souldiers know that I their King, am their Generall, and therefore, as I shall lead, they cannot but march with greater coutage, and that their advantage is so much the more considerable, as not to be exposed to a Battail, but for such a Royall person, who will adventure with them, and bear them company in their Noble Actions. And let the Princesse know that if I take the Crown, which her Fathers have born, my Ancestors have worn it as well as they; and in this quality her Grace may confesse that I merit more gloriously to be her husband, and to let her see, that without Scepter or Crown, she is as dear and pretious to me. To conclude (gallant Stanley) proclaime to all the world (though I would claim the Crown as Conqueror) I have forborn it, though I might have accepted a Crown from the hands of a Princeffe, I refused it, and that I have rather chosen to hazard the Throne which I have Conquered, then not to possess it as a legitimate Prince, and the issue and Heir of the Royall house of Lancaster.

The Censure.

His Prince is in the Records and Annalls of the Kings of England accounted and honoured as one of the most famous and wifest Polititians as ever fate on that Throne. This is the observation of the Lord Chancellor Bacon; and as he elevated himself to the Royall Soveraignty, so hee established it (in all humane Conjecture) with greatest honour and security to himself and successors; Though he might have ascended highly by the effects of his Conquests (which usually are not moderated to any bounds) yet at that time, Fortune (if ever) making her self aslave to her favourite, he waveth that interest as his principal supports And though the title of this Princesse Elizabeth might procure him popular applauses, and approbations; yet his reasons seem too strong to be subjetted to that forcious dependant subordination; which quality though it may agree with the Genius of a Subject, yet cannot be compatible & tolerable in the digestion of a victorious Conqueror. Where a Queen hath the foveraign right, and the King a title onely by marriage, it is not he, but | be that ruleth. Now if a Crown be not establish't, it hath not it's persect beauty: if a Scepter be divided, it is no longer a Scepter: if two fit on a Throne, it loofeth its form, and is no longer a Throne. The Electors of the Empire, and these of Polony, entrench too deeply on the authority of their Masters: if a Prince see any interposition between him and God, he cannot stile himself Absolute : and if he have not Right to say, it is our will and pleasure, and declare (without farther Reason) and say, pro ratione voluntas; he carries but the shadow of a Soveraignty, he may wear the Crown, but others exercise the Royall Office. Now if this kind of Government be not so noble, then to hold a Crown by the Right or favour of a wife is neither so safe nor so honourable. The Electors are stiled subjects, and all Commissions and Edies are signed in the Princes name, but it is not so where the wife is supream. The Sun which divideth the radiant beames to the universe in his course, comprehendeth all splendent lustre in his own glorious body, and when that is fet, no brightnesse at all appears, but what is (in its absence) communicated to some lesser Starrs to preserve the world from utter darknesse and obscurity . Thus, this wife Prince did judge of Soveraign'y, which

though it communicate glorious raies, yet they are Originally united in one illustrious body, and those leffer lights, which as the Moon and Starrs radiate with more Glimmering and Dusky Brightnesse, they have no native, but mutuations and borrowed light. A quality utterly inconsistent with a generous and renonned Soul, and which agrees not with the Nature of Soveraignty. If this Prince had held his Crown by the title of Elizabeth, he must have depended on the will and pleasure of his Wife; and never been able to sway and command abfolutely. It is our will and pleasure. As the Crown of England was an abfolute Monarchy, fo it had now a King who fcorn'd to lofe the least circumstance or Pundilio that might grace the splendor and brightnesse of Majesty. And as for the Complication and Alls of Grace to gratifie his people, he rather admitted and used such pleasant Popular baits, out of Policy and deeper designe to prevent all stormes, or to calme them if they should rise, then to diminish or extenuate the Grandure of Majesty. Those condescentions (Kings know well) are great Artifices of their own making, which when the fish is caught they understand & know how to unrovel & break the nets to their own advantage. The Scripture teacheth that the woman is to be subject to the man, and not the man to the woman. Had not this divine rule given liberty and dispensation to this Princes action and choice, Policy (a more liberall, and free dispencer of her counsels) would not stick at the discouragement of such Resolutions which endeavour to grasp at supreame Authority. The example of Ferdinando and Isabella demonstrate that Masculine Noblenesse subjected to Feminine fancies, and their mutable pleasures is neither so satisfactory, so honourable, nor so safe. And that other example of Philip the second, who married Mary Queen of England, manifesteth, that such a conjunction with an expectation of Soveraignties as concomitant, proveth but a more fine Golden chaine to bind faster (at pleasure) Royallambition; for so was that Prince deluded and abused in his expestation, who instead of Soveraign commands had onely the honour of a Tile, joyned in Commissions and Coyns, but had not the power to exercise the Royal office. It is apparent then, a Scepter is onely fit for one, and not two hands, and that a Crown (being circular inform) is only proper for one Soveraign head. The two famous Queens of Naples have taught all the world the dangers of pretending to hold Crowns by Female rights: And this Prince was a person too sage and prudent to expose his Royall advantages to such casuall alterations, having made so noble a Conquest, he holdeth still fast his sword in his hand, and espouseth Elizabeth with all her rights and possibilities, and wisely chooseth and declareth none but his own title, keeping those others as great Souldiers doe their Reserves at distance, rather to terrifie, then to fight, unlesse there be great occasion. this action this King, whatever he pretended of Grace to Elizabeth, and so to be a great Moralift, herein bath left to the world this testimony; That he was acquainted with the deepest and most profound wayes of Policy; and therefore did more prudently make his election, and so pitch his resolution, rather to reigne by his own, then the pretence or right of any other. Now if from an action of fuch famous Valour and prudence, we alter our discourse to another as eminent for fidelity; here is an example in the person of an Infidell Prince, which is most remarkable. Soliman the fecond (that Prince who was the glory of the Ottoman Family) promised to John, King of Hungary, to establish his Empire, to which purpose Soliman was earnest, constant, and faithfull to his resolution : But the warre being somewhat unfortunate, or lesse successfull, and having lost the lives of an hundred thousand men, the Bassawes, and Turkish Commanders would have interrupted, and prevented the faid Kings investment, and Inauguration unto the Kingdom of Hungary, though Soliman had made his TOYALL



SOLYMAN the most Magnificent, Emperour of the Turkes. He wan the He Rhodes and divers I lands in the Mediterranean fea, overan Hungary, conquerd Babilon and the Countreyes of Mesopotamia: Tooke Strigonium, and won Alba Regalis, and at the feidge of Sigeth died, in Anno: 1567.

royall promise: But see here Solimans discourse and reasons which caused that gen rous Monarch to keep his faith and resolution, and to crown gloriously John in the samous Town of Bude.



SOLIMAN TO RVSTAN BASSA.

HE Counsell which you give me might have been approved by Mahomet the second, but not by Soliman; that Prince who kept not his word with the Emperour David Comineus, and his Children, who caused the death of Prince Bosnie, and Methelin, contrary to his promises; pursued those Maximes which agree not with Soliman. 'Tis true, he was cer-

tainly a great Conquerour, and the twelve Kingdomes which he subdued, and thereby united the two Empires, merit much to his honour, and free his actions from being censured with too much rigour and severity; and by what means he reigned so puissantly. And as to my own particular (because I enjoyed his Conquests) it may less become me to infult over his errors, or to rail at his proceedings against the rules of exact Justices yet seeing truth and fidelity to my word and unspotted honour are the marks I chiefly aim at, I shall not judge it irrational nor injust to say that Mahomets forfeiting of his word and promise hath stained the beauty of his Reputation, & if he had been more facred in observation of his word and promise with his enemies, he had not gained less true glory then his conquests have rendred to his name. I am not ignorant that Mahomet hath not been the fole example of my Predecessors, who have falsified their Faith without the least fcruple, and that many Polititians yeeld and perswade, that it is lawful to deceive those whom they can delude, and that fraud and fourbs are commendable and innocent instruments; and as for fincerity, it is not laudable, much less necessary, but when advantageous and convenient. The Christians (as well as the Turks) (who seem to be obliged by the bonds of Religion, and upon pains of hell) permit these rules and maxims amongst them very ordinarily, and have not kept their publique Faith inviolable, to compass and effect their particular aims and designs; and yet some of the Ottoman Princes have been most exact and frict in keeping of their word. Thus the magnificent Selim (of famous memory)though naturally haughty and ambitious, was most punctual in his Conditions and Articles with the Citizens of Damascus, who furrendring their Town, he faved their lives, and preserved their goods from pillage and plunder; nay he was so exact to every circumstance, that although his numerous forces had incamped, and lay round about that wast Town, wherein the prey and wealth was infinite, and might have largely inriched the whole army yet Selim permitted not any one fouldier to commit the least insolence nor so much as to gather a handful of fruit or herbs out of the stately and luxuriant Gardens which

lay round about the walls. And doeft thou know (Rutan) what advantage succeeded this exact curiofity of his fidelity and Paroll ? The inhabitants of Damascus gave more by a peaceable surrender, and the Emperour received more then he and his Army could have gotten, if they had pillaged the Towns for by this example of the Emperours exact law of his word, the towns of Barute, of Sidon, of Tripoly, of Ptolomais, and (speedily after) those of Syria submitted, and surrendred on the faith and credit of the Emperours word; by this meanes a great hardship of War, and an expensive, and vast charge was saved, and the lives of many thousands preserved from death. But you may tell me (Ruftan) the chiefe meanes to inlarge Territoryes, or to confirme, or affure Conquests, to destroy Enemies, to invade Townes, to subdue Provinces, and Kingdomes, is it not by conjoyning fraud and deceit with force and Armes? and by pretending faith, but not intending to keep it? are not Townes surrendred, the Gates of Castles and Forts opened to spetious and smooth delufions? Whereby great and potent Adversaries have committed themselves (in person) to their Enemies? what need we search farther then into the Histories of the first founders of the Ottoman family, as well as into the life of the valiant Orchan, who fucceeded them; we shall find that if they had not as well used artificiall delusions, fraud and falshood; they had not so frequently surprized Townes, fubdued Provinces, nor Conquered Kingdoms, nor laid such strong foundations to that Empire, which I now possesse, and which appears in its present condition to foretell her happy fruition of her victories to as great glory and duration as the Romans extended theirs. Do you not then think that too strict and punctual observation to your faith, & word, may be an obstacle to your agrandizing and suture establishment of your Empire? To all these I answer, I am of the contrary opinion, as believing that an honourable Regard of ones word, and a conservation of his faith solemnly and publiquely given, is the best way and meanes to begin, to inlarge, or to establish a Soveraignty. When I call to mind then, and examine my faith and promise made to King John, and my Ingagement to use my best indeavours to establish him in his Throne, Judge you if I be not obliged to keep my word inviolable: For which all Mortalls are strictly bound if they refolve not to forget humanity and honour, and true renown. And if so severe a tye be morally imprinted on the Soules of all men, how particularly are Princes, who are in degrees of honour, as far transcendent to their subjects, as the lesser Starrs are inferiour to the lustre of the Sun. For in the observation of their Royall Parole, the Peoples happinesse, and the Soveraignes glory chiefly consisteth. To confirme this argument, and so to know more exactly the facrednesse of promifes; you may confider that the Religions of all kind which ever were or shall be, have never restrained, nor ever shall oblige the people, but by this way. Heaven it felfe is witnesse by the constancy of her motions to what I say. In effect, what disorder and confusion would fucceed to any estate, if men shall declare to make open profession, that they did not regard what they did fay, or promise? what would be the disorder, and how irregular the society in every particular party? what inconveniency and a generall disturbance to all commerce? and what union and agreement can be expected or hoped for amongst

the people, which is the very foundation, and frameth a Solidity to the station, and continuance of Empires? It is through faith in promises that amity and friendship are preserved, that all Artizans and labourers work with fo much curiofity and paines: this caufeth the Marriners to imbarque, and fo boldly to adventure their lives at Sea, incourageth the Souldiers to be fo hardy and valiant in the Warrs: And without this, it would be impossible to govern either in peace or War. So then the keeping of faith inviolate, conduceth much to the rule and government of all the universe, and is as necessary to humane fociety, as a foundation is to a stately and magnificent structure. Without this incomparable bond, all society would be dissolved into confusion, lawes be despised and scorned, Fathers would not have any Reverence from their Children, nor Children any kindness from their Parents, friends would grow perfidious, Commanders would trample on their Souldiers, and they as insolently injure or forsake their Commanders, Subjects would have no affurance in their Princes nor Princes any respect or honour from their Subjects. You fee then (Rustan) that a constant observation to ones faith and parole is not only honourable but necessary; and without which it were impossible but to go into most irreparable misfortunes. Moreover this quality is the more noble, because no creature is capable to effectuate in this kind but onely rational, and the incomparable creature man; as for other qualities they may be Acquired by Habits, or possessed by Temperaments and natural Instincts as appears in the very Bruits. We find fidelity in Dogs, love in the Turtles, violent inclinations of tendernes in the Male and Female creatures towards their young ones; the Lions have their generofity and boldness, the Serpents their prudence, the Elephant their wit and memory, and the little Ants their providence in their Oeconomie; but as for the observation of faith and promises, those are actions onely belonging to Man, by which he becometh Master of anothers will, as well as of his own, so that in these occasions it may bee well faid, that there is a necessity as indispenceable to keep ones word, as to obey a Law before a promise made; this caution is ever to be used, that no man exceed the reall and absolute limits of his own power, not to ingage his faith in any thing exill in it felf or injurious to another. These limitations first proposed, faith is obligatory, and binding, and no retractation to be admitted, which in it felf cannot be less then base and dishonourable. These considerations concerne persons of all degrees; and as for Kings, they are not free from the obligation of their Parole more then the meanest of their Subjects: For if they make a promise to their equals, and fail in it, their equals may force and compel them to a performance; and if to their Inferiours, justice and honour obliges them to be exact to their own will and pleasure, which once ingaged is not longer free, but hath a tye and obligation on it, which they have impofed and framed to themselves. There cannot be then (with justice and honor) a failing in Faith, nor any fair evalions the very possibility which Princes have in their own power not to oblige themselves to any promile, foretels their facility to observation, which they cannot (but a-gainst their own reason) disanul and dispence withall. Nay if a Prince shall condescend to a resolution and solemn promise, to depose his Crown, I cannot but judge it more glorious for him to keep his word, then to hold his Scepter. Fundamentall Laws (though in themselves

facred and inviolable) yet ought not to be in fo great a veneration with a Prince as observation to his own word: For it may so arrive in the revolution of Ages, that Policy may permit and perswade to change, and alter those first ordinances, which have founded and supported a Monarchy; but as for the word of a King, it ought to be inchangeable; otherwise, levity, and falshood will so spot his reputation, that he will hardly ever obliterate the stain of Infamy; and what fidelity, or loyalty can be expected from Subjects to be paid to him, who is not noble and faithfull to himself? If you object (Rustan) that the King is lesse obliged because he is so transcendent above them. I answer; a Prince is free before he pleaseth to promise; but if he shall fail afterwards to gratifie his humour, or ambition, or to give way to his own passions, he will provoke not only his peoples hatred, but (if possible) their revenge; whom though they do not command, do expect that he should obey the dicrates of his own will; and if this intercourse should faile how should the Prince confide in his people or they in him? If I should design a noble recompence to my Bashaws and Janizaries, in case they should effect some noble and grand enterprise, might I not give a dangerous check to my commands and power, if I should start from my word, and so they fail in their reward? If I were engaged with mine Army before a Town, and resolved to subdue it, and encouraged my Souldiers to storm and take it, and gave them promise of the prey, and pillage, and then did not prove noble and faithfull, and did not recompence them, having adventured their lives in the affault, and breach with fuch violence and mettle to get the Victory; might not fuch infidelity not onely lose mine honour, but provoke a mutiny, and hazard the losse of mine own Army? Again, if the Inhabitants of a Town should agree voluntarily to submit, without other conditions, but the faving of their lives, and after I had received the Keyes of their Ports, & the Gates were open, then I should suffer them to fall by the Edge of the fword; would not fuch an Act obscure the honour of a soveraign Prince? and force the remainder and furvivant party to fight & dispute to the last drop of their bloods? and might not such unworthinesse cause mine owne Souldiers to turn Cowards, or to make them turn their swords against their own Prince? would not such Actions as these increase the valour of the Enemy, cause them to redouble their Guards, and inspire them with new designes, to deceive with falshood him whom they could neither subdue nor believe? were not fuch a Prince indangered to be censured as the firebrand of his Age, and as well born to be the Enemie of his neighbours, and the odium of his own subjects, as well as of his Enemies? and as for Princes, if they as well consider their interest as their honour, they are not onely obliged for their advantage, to whom they have promised, but likewise for their own ends: And it is a great dispute, whether it be of greater importance to keep faith with friends or enemies; and the most subtle Polititians do conclude, that in a case of absolute necessity, a breach with friends is more tolerable then with enemies, whose eyes are most acute and exact, to observe every scruple of conditions or Articles covenanted to them: For when our Allyes, our friends, and our subjects do affie in us, they do no more then their duties and devoires; of which if they failed their neglect were injury, and confequently their trust in us augmenteth our glory, and equitably obligeth

geth us to keep our faith with them: but when it arriveth that our professed Enemies place their assurance in our parole, this is an infallible mark of that estimation which they have of our vertue not of our power: And this conception worketh for our glory, and telfifieth so much for our generosity, that (I dare boldly say) if it be injustice and tasenesse to forfeit one's parole to his friend: It is an act of more beridignobleneffe mixt with perpleousnesse and impudency, not to keep faith with an Enemy. I cannot then with my honour let this opportunity escape. which fortune now presenteth, but I must observe that which I have promised to this distressed Prince; to him (I say) who hath not forgotten, what ruine and ravages our armies have committed in his Kingdom, He it is who confideth in us, and hath chosen him who was the greatest Enemy to this Kingdome to be the Protedor of his Crown. We cannot delude his hopes (Ruftan) nor with any honour recede from our promise. I know well that some rules of Policy oppose my delign. If I should make use of them, and if I should permit an interruption, many considerations will arise, and you may tell me (first) that John engaged me to this Warre, and that the fates, which go verns all things, have produced fad and black effects to both parties, fince I have taken the Fortes of Buile and those of Altemberg, that other of Komarc of wiffegrade, and all other along the Danube: My Army have pillaged all Syria, and made an infinite number of flaves, and have fo terrified the Emperor Ferdinando, that he durft not prefume, with his Army once to face my force: & after all these successes I am at last tryumphant in the Towne of Budesready to invest and re-enthrone John King of Hungary; and if that fiege of Vienna, and the extremity of the winter have caused me to lose an hundred thousand men, I might feem to complain rather of this Prince then to render to him his Kingdome, and honour him with his Crown. This may agree best with voursence: but it is true, I cannot submit to your Judgement. If instead of one, I had lost two hundred thousand men, I should not have defifted from my intentions, out of meer confideration to my faith and promise. I never suffered my profit and advantage to be competitors, or comparative with my glory and renown. And when I shall faile to be a strict observer of my faith, I cannot judge my felf worthy of respect or honour. Of all the waies of Conquest these are most sure, which are effected with least violence. In making a King my Tributary and Vassall, I create a more illustrious slave to be as faithful and obedient, as if imprisoned with fettered Chaines: The recognition of distresses relieved, oblige a Prince more powerfully then the strictest servitude: And those Tributes which are paid to a King by a voluntary contribution, do more inrich his treasure, then those which are exacted. For you cannot be ignorant how that in a Country newly Conquered, Garrifons are to be established in the principall Forts and Townes; besides. it is to be provided that an Army be ready to march, on all occasions, to be ready to oppose all resistance that may arise, and yet this care and providence is to be exercised, to see that the people be not utterly destroyed as well as subdued from the power of Revolts: Policy teaching that they have not too much liberty, least they grow infolent, nor too severe a servitude, least they grow desperate; a mixture of gentlenesse with rigour is necessary in lawfull Royalty, but more abfolutely inseparable from the foundation of new Conquests. Moreover, in the esta-

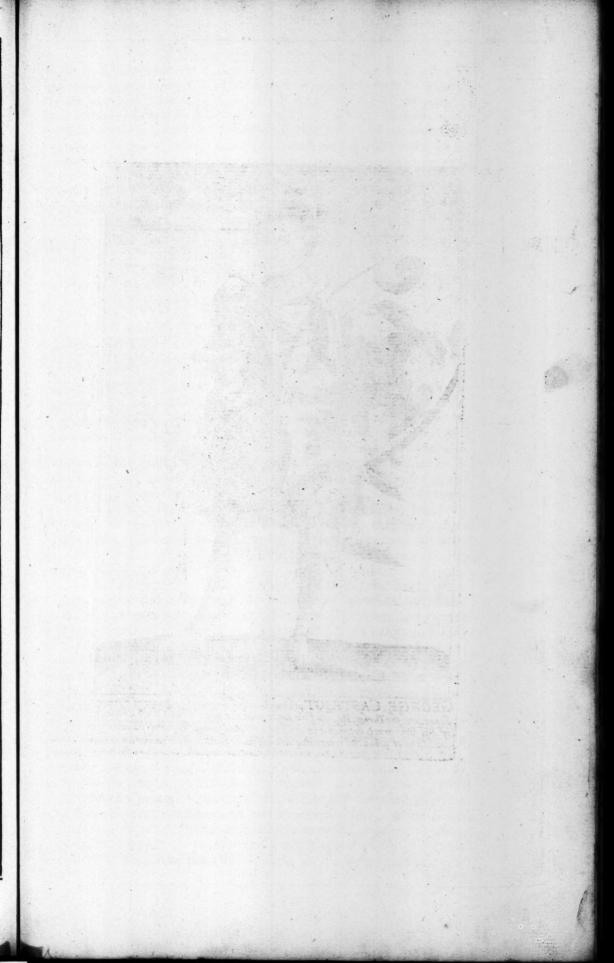
establishment of a Tributarie Prince, more sweetnesse and indusgence is tolerable, because he is substituted to all care, charge and paines, and such a Conquest is as well without inquietude as danger. If I had intended otherwise, I must have fought many battailes, besieged many Towns, and (befides a hazard not to have obtained what I now enjoy) I might have lost honour and reputation. Moreover my violation of faith with this Prince, might have united and provoked other Princes to levy forces, and march unanimously against me: And what Grace or honour might that Emperor expect, but rather a generall detestation from all, who deserved to be branded with ignominy and reproach, for being perfidious and false? will not both Princes and Subjects act to fave their lives, to defend their Country, preserve their liberties, and revenge their Prince from a faithlesse and perfidious person? But you will tell me (Rustan) after so many battailes, and fo many fignall Advantages, what need I fear, and what might I not hope for? No, no, Fortune is too mutable a Lady to be confided in: We are not to abuse her favours, nor scorne her liberality, nor to depend on the Constancy of ler graces, who is so changable at her pleasure. She who hath given us all these Victories, hath power to deprive us of them, and as oft as I think, what great obstacles stood in the way, to oppose the mighty fuccesse of valiant Scanderbeg, and Mahomet, and many of my Anceltors; I cannot prudently be over confident in my own Armies, my Enemies weaknesse, nor my own valour. For it is possible, that the greatest Conquerors may be vanquished, and consequently, nothing is to be hazarded highly. The fortunes which attended Amurath and Bajazet, may also waite on me, and another Castriot or Tamerlaines may arise to prevail over me. Let us not then abuse our Enemies in the forfeiting of faith, nor thereby occasion all the world to oppose and hate us, which they may do without injustice, and then the fates produce strange and wonderfull effects. Marcellus stopped the Progresse of Hannibal, when he was highly ingaged; Camillus preserved his Country, when it was frared he would have destroyed it. Besides all these reasons, the Senate and Republique of Rome affords us examples of admitting Kings to be Tributaries, Slaves, and Vasfalls. And if true Renown be so exceedingly glorious in the subjection of the Common Peoples how superexcellent, and most illustrious is a command over Kings and Princes? Thus Antonius marcht with two and twenty Princes, (as his Royall attendance) into Alexandria. This infallible enfigne of honour declares to all the world, that the Romans made not alwaies their Enemies their Slaves, but gave them liberty to meare their Crownes, to make their Royall Equipage more glorious. It is one of the greatest secrets of Policy, so to temper and manage affaires, as to make our enemies serviceable to us. And no advantage can be higher, then to make them fight for us, who fought against us. And as for this Kingdome of Hungary, which is now divided by the Factions of John and Ferdinando, it would be (doubtlesse) united against me, it I should be perfidious to that party, which I am ingaged to: And fo that whole Country become mine enemies, which (on these terms) are reduced to be my vassals: By this action I shall either augment my Soveraignty; or, if the division continues, more infeeble the adverse party. Princes ought deeply to consider before they engage their faith; but if they value their honour, they are obliged to perform their promise, though it succeed

with the greatest less. This obligation bindeth more effentially; because it is a vow not made to Subjects, but to a Prince by one in distresse; he who renders himself my Vassal, and hath trusted to my word for the fafety of his person. And should my falshood make my advantage in a Princes necessity, who relies on my fidelity, and flies to me for succour? When the Emperour Ferdinando (who is an enemy formidable enough) defired my Alliance, I publickly both refused and scorned his Amity: And it had not become me now to have admitted this Prince to the fecrefie of my promise and resolutions, if I had not first exactly examined how far I might condescend and adventure for his protection. No. no (Rustan) I should rather choose to lose my life, then to forfeite my Parole, which I shall preserve so inviolable, that I shall Crown King John with mine own hands, that all posterity may learn from me that it is a necessary obligation (equally concerning the peoples good, as well as the Princes glory) to keep and guard their promifes, without any fraud or violation. It is by this indivisible chain that the universall fociety of Mankind subsisteth in that union which inableth so many divers Nations to treat and commerce so unanimously in their affairs. This is that facred bond which causeth voluntarily the arms of so many thousands (though enemies) peacefully to be laid down. This is that folemn affurance which perswadeth and secureth peace after bloody Wars. If men should not have a regard and observation to their Parroll. Iustice, which is the foundation of all virtues, would find no place for her feet tostandin all the world; and if shee failed, all other virtues would lose their grace and beauty ; Justice it self would lose her denomination, and be stiled rigour, or severity; Clemencie would be reputed too much indulgent levity. Liberality would be censured prodigality; and Valour (if not successfull) would be accounted rashnesse, or too much confidence. And it is true, though virtues confilt in moderation, yet when the action is not seafonable, they feet to wear the habits of vice. But as for fidelity to ones Paroll, it admits of no various explications, but ought to be exactly observed, at all times, in all places, and with all persons; and as to mine own resolutions (being a Soveraign Prince) I shall not be false, but faithfull to all, whether Kings or Shepheards; nor faile in that (which feems most difficult) to keep my Parole with mine Enemy. This Law is properly mine own, because voluntary; therefore to be obeyed without all repugnancie. It is in this resolution wherein my reason is so mightily convinced, that I reverence the fanctity of publick Faith; to violate which becomes not men, much leffe Kings. And as for my felfe, to bee falfe to my Faith I am incapable.

The Censure.

See here the noble and generous resolutions of a Prince (who reverencing the Alcoran, and onely adoring the lies and fistions of Mahomet) appeares avery gallant and illustrious soul, exceeding many Christian Princes sor his sidelity to his Parole and promise. Divinity gives us leave to acknowledge, that those high degrees of honour and selicity, which accompanyed this great Prince, were as a temporall recompence whereauth God was pleased to requite him, and

so make more renowned his Morall virtues. Oh that this Emperour (though a Turk) had been alive to shame that dangerous Politian, who (though a [brifian) had the in pudence to write and publish to the world; That wife Princes ought not to observe their promises but when they tend to their utility and advantages. Who would believe that one who wears a Turban, ! ould be more morall then he who bears a Christian Crown? The same Author faies; If all men were honest, that precept were not necessary; but because many are false and wicked, it is therefore more tolerable, and for that reason, that they regard not their Faith, Princes are not obliged to theirs; who can never want specious pretences for their failings. This Polition is as wicked as that other; and his warrant (though from the Scripture) is not Logically it is true, David faith, all men are lyars; but the Politician cannot conclude thence a dispensation for fraud and infidelity; one man judgeth of another by his words or actions, but God alone judgeth of the hearts. The Counsell of dissimulation, if it be consistent with Policie, agrees not at all with Theological truth: And is not the being (as well as the appearing) to be honest and just requisive and necessary in a Prince ? Or have the Reigns of all good and virtuous Princes been miserable and unfortuna e? Or is there no other means to prevent miseries and ill, but by the practice of alefon (in it felf) so damnable? Is there no other way to uphold Crowns, and Monarchies but by such black, and damnable Maximes of State? Another rule follows as dangerous, (as those which went before) which is, that it is not necessary for Princes really to be what they seeme, nor to keep Faith in any thing, but what serves their turne. Oh what horrour these Principles containin them? Let this dangerous Florentine poison the world as far as he can with his infectious Principless yet I dare to fay, his Maximes are as empty and void of reason as Religion. Fidelity is essentiall to any illuftrious Prince, without which, he can neither raigne happily nor glorioufly: and 'tis certain, frequent diffimulations, and infidelity in Princes to their Paroles, make suddain troubles, or admit but of short raignes; Therfore they ought to be kept inviolable and with more facred reverence, though com. packed with the greatest Enemies. For Princes are at liberty, before they promise, but once engaged, ought to be subservient to their distates, and defires of their own wills: And who ever faileth to keep his faith, loofeth his honour and common honesty. And a being not obliged by the rules of Religion, givetha Check to all Rights, both humane and divine. But I fee a great Champion, and an illustrious Commander contradicting this proposition, and urgeth that no rule is so generall, but admitteth of some exception. Great Scanderbeg gained so famous a reputation in the world, that he merits not to be condemned before his reasons be heard, and his noble Actions rightly considered. John Castriot his Father being dead, and his Children being hostages in the hands of Amurath the Turkish Emperor; this Barbarous Prince imprisoned them, thereby the better to fecure the Kingdom of Albania to himselfe. Now as the rare valour of George Castriot, (whom the Turkes called Scanderbeg) was infinitely necessary, he omitted not the least occasion, which might advantage his particular interest, and therefore feigned a willingnesse and resolution to surrender the Kingdom to Amurath, with privy designe more exactly to found and bottome his intentions: And (at length) meeting with a fit opportunity, when the Turks gave battaile to the Christians, hee quitted the Turkish Armies, and faceing about charged fiercely with the Christians against the Turks, andhaving given them many desperate overthrowes, he recovered his estate (at last) and the Throne of his Father. Amu-





GEORGE CASTRIOT, otherwise called Scanderbeg Prince of Epirus Scourge of the Turker. He slew Fera Bassa with his owne hand, Cheife Comander of Amuraths army, Overraw the countrey of Macedonia, Overthrew & Turk army couls thing of 40000. full remaying wiltor in many battells by his valour and polisics

rathinraged with Choler and despatched one of his Janizaries (Chaoux) to reproach Great Scanderbeg, for his falsen see to his Parole and promise, and to charge him with his insidelity: See here this famous Commanders Apologie, and reasons to justifie his actions to all the world: And that it is not dishonorable nor inglorious, to break promise with those who keep not Faith, but are persideous.



SCANDER BEG TO HIS COVNCEL OF OFFICERS AND COMMANDERS.



HE Embassador of Amurath (having reproached me in the behalf of the Emperor his Master) hath dared to charge my reputation, with the ugly crimes of Perputations my Soule scornes and abhorrs If all men in the World should not be as equally guilty of those errors, as my self; And seeing Alexander the Great loved not glory it selfe.

but with scrupulous Curiolity, and he bravely affirmed, that he inwardly abhorred, to steal avidory, by surprising it in obscurity or the night: I prefume I may be admitted to conclude, that I hate the thoughts, to have stolne that glory away, which I possesse, had I not acquired it by noble and illustrious meanes. Be you then my Judges in this point, (although my Officers and Subjects) examine my actions with the greatest rigour, that the severity of Justice, or the brightnesse of true generofity can exact or require, and be not partiall (for fo I conjure you) whether or no, those may forfeit the glory of their valour and faith justly, who have been provoked by actions of infidelity from others? and whether this reciprocal retaliation, may not be honourably supported and grounded on the Basis and Foundation of reason. I know well, that publick Faith ought to be placed and ranked milb the most choice, and sacred things; but not to be sincere nor to keep Faith with him, who hath first violated that sacred bond, is not onely lawfull but commendable, and an Action which feemes guided with reason, and justice. This is the chiefest argument of my discourse, which cannot but honourably patronize, what I shall maintaine and defend. The Lames of Nations (which doubtlesse) approach nearest to Nature and Reason, have not ordaine apanishment to him, who kills an Eneruse when he affaults and would affafinate; but they permit repulsion of Force by Force. And is it not as equally just to punish and revenge those (who precending to protect innocency) have actually defigned to ruine and destroy? Is not a defence and preservation lawfull, when Faith is first violated, and nothing but mischiefe intended? Is power therfore just, because 'tis great? or may men do mischiefe equitably, because they are able? and may not a felf defence, or the destruction of a per-

fidious Enemy be as equally tolerated? And (if we should now passe from particular quarrells to open and publik Warrs) is it not most true, and that either in hostile invasions, or intestine broiles, that one party is more criminous and unjust then the other; and so the first invader or disturber of peace? To make more particular instance, feeing that Amurath hath invaded the Kingdom of his Allie, surprized his Townes, suborned his Subjects, pillaged his Country, and hath received the Prince and his Children Hoftages, and afterwards broken and violated his Faith; are not these Provocations too horrid and infufferable; and can they justly expect any recompence, but of wrath and revenge, if a power offended, be rendred capable to make fuch a requitall? On these considerations, the world cannot but discharge me, from the guilt of being either perfidious or traiterous. He who first violateth his Faith, and is an invader of the Princely Soveraignty of his Neighbour, authorizeth his Enemy to all endeavours, to make his highest revenges on him. And he who before was criminous, and therefore punished, becommeth innocent and just; And that which the Enemy calleth treason, is a sage conduct of affaires; that which hee termeth Cruelty, becomes a naturall and just defence. So then, that which is permitted by the Laws of Nations to private persons, and which injuries and bitter extremities have necessitated, cannot but be allowed to my just and fationall defence. To this purpose, I cannot but look on Amurath as my particular enemy, causing the death of my Brothers whom he barbarously possened, and so as the publick and common enemy of my estate, which he had most unjustly usurped. And if (in my own person) I have most miraculously escaped, doubtless my comportment, guarded me more securely: For I respected him ceremoniously as a great Prince, preventing his suspitions with my prudence; and if I have learned to forfeit my Parole, I received that direction from the infidelity and falshood of Amurath ; by which means I have found a way open to revenge the death of my Brothers by flaying his Baffams; and have requited the ruins of my Country, with the defeats of his armies. Yet if you will make a clearer inspection, and dive more deep to search the reasons of my proceedings, I must put you in mind how antient Macedonia (that famous City) was affaulted by this puissant enemy; that Albania (formerly but a Province) endured many of his violences, as other neighbouring and vicine Territories. At length King John my Father (tired with the continuance of the War, and touched compassionately for the miseries of his people) resolved to render himself tributary to his Empire, and to this purpose he committed his children hostages, hoping, that when my Father died; this cruell Monster would have fent one of his Sons to have been his Successor to have reigned over his Subjects: But (O just heavens) at that very time v/hen I was fighting for him, & expofing my life for his service in the archievements of his glory & renown, the King my Father dying, he dispatched Sebalick (his creature) with troops of Horse & Foot to seize on the noble City of Croy, & all the rest of the chief Towns of Alkania; at which time he exiled the Queen my Mother to a poor pittance & corner of the world, without respect unto her person, who as she was a Queen, so she was the Daughter of the King of Triballieus; & if he spared my person (in this juncture of affairs) it was not through any affection or refentment to humanity, or Justice;

but only for that reason, because he conceived he might make great advantage by my conduct and employment in his Wars and service: Which if I had pleased to quit, he might (happily) have lost a considerable part of his Army. And hitherto, what hath Scanderbeg done against Amurath ? Or rather what offices of love doth not Amurath owe to Scanderbeg? hath his fidelity in any proportion been equal to mine? How could I not (if I had thought fit) have refused his first employments, and continued my repose within his Court? Hoftages are more noble then to be treated as Slaves: And if I had not been encouraged by the generosity of mine own spirit, I would not have exposed my tife or honour for his service : And seeing that (at that time) he punctually kept conditions, agreed on by the King my Father, I had cause to hope that he would continue a succession to his fidelity. Grounded on this confidence, I resolved to gratifie his Commands with my choicest endeavours, expecting that when that Prince should die, to whom I was fucceffor, I might his ascend throne, and so by double obligations, he might be more firmly bound to keep his Faith and Parole. It was this apprehension that invited me to take the charge of Sangiac, and without being so much as a Mahometan, I forbore not to appear a rigid Turk. In the first troubles of Asia, I commanded a party of five hundred men, with so good successe, that the very reputation of that service rendered me capable to bee made Generall of his second Army, wherewith I effected marvellous advantages to the Empire. You cannot but remember how Amurath received, or rather flighted me at Andrinople, then, after so famous a Victory I reconducted his Army, without the loss of more then two hundred men, when the spoils of the euemies appeared so great, that they amazed Amurath, as well as other spectators, to behold so great riches, so many slaves; such a number of Flags, Enfigns, and bruised and battered Arms recovered from the Enemies; then the multitudes could not be restrained from calling me the Restaura or of his Empire. Besides this (it may be) you will remember in what fashion I preserved the honour of that Nation, when that audacious and fierce Scythian presented a defiance to the Sultan, to that end that one of his Court Champions might have accepted the Challenge, and when no other person was found inclinable and resolute, I undertook the Combat; and if I had not vanquished the insolent and furious Scythian by my magnanimity, and valour, the diffrace and shame would have much reflected on the Emperour. At the same time I hazarded my life to all other adventures and dangers. At the taking of Nicomedia and of Prusia, I was as active and bold as the meanest and desperatest Souldier: And when I thought of that prodigious action of Alexander the Great in the City of Oxidraques, I leaped on the walls of the Town, and thence descended with equal courage, and though I dare not fay I had the valour of that famous Hero (of whom I speak) and though I may be censured over rash and bold, yet my considence, and temerity were not without equall successe: For (without vaine glory) I was then the chief and sole cause of surprising that Town ; and fince then (may I speake it without oftentation) what eminent things have I not done in Europe against the Christians, as wel as in Greece and Hungary? Wherein I have been a fortunate instrument, if not of vanquishing the Christians, yet of defending the Turks against their powerfull Armies. Do all these actions merit neglect, or (much less)

perfidious infidelity? Or hath my fidelity been fo great, and my valour so successfull, as to cause Amurath to be perfidious to his promises? Hath he no other reward (after his folemn engagements and promifes) but to usurp the Kingdome of my Father, to exile the Queen my Mother, to poylon my Brothers, and likewise to design me to bee an Illustrious slave? And not to suffer me longer to live; then I might serve his advantages, and by the conduct of Wars be able to defeate his enemies, and establish his Throne? Doe you beleeve (after such Treaties as these) that I can commit any act of Injustice in failing of my faith to one who so basely and barbarously abused our royall Family? Yet (perhaps) you will tell me, that Fallbood is a thing fo detestable, as not to be excused, much lesse justified. If that rule and maxime be generall, and admits no exception, the Military art must lose great part of it felf. Then there wil be no farther use of Stratagems, nor Ambuscadoes; then Towns should never be surprised, nor the Enemies interrupted with Alarums; then there would bee no Combats in the night, nor any occasion of Spies; we needed not feign Retreats to engage an Enemy to fight, but it would be necessary to number the Forces of both parties, to make the combats equall; and Judges would be expedient in the Camp as well as at a Combat of Barriers, or Tournies; to fee that the Sun were not more splendent in the eyes of the one, then of the other: Admit this absurdity and evill consequences, there would be no need of Generals in Armies, but the valour of the vigorous and hardy Souldiers would be sufficient to dispute and gaine the Field, then the extraordinary prudence, and juditious experience of the greatest Commanders would be uselesse and impertinent. Another objection may arise, that these circumstances of Warre, are not onely tollerable but just, and necessary, against declared enemies. To that I answer, Publick contracts between Crowns are more sacred and inviolable then agreements betwixt private persons. And when an Emperour treateth with a Prince, and keepeth not his Parole, he forceth him to be his Enemy, and dareth him to the height of revenge by his perfidious actions, which are not only refented by my felf, but appear clearly to all the world how much I have been injured, and abused by Amurath; for when my Father died, and Amurath had exiled the Queen (my mother) and had poisoned my Brothers, in a fained manner, pretending to Generofity, he feemed inclinable to offer me the Crown of Albania with a referved intention, if I accepted of it, to seize upon my person, or to put me to death. These injust provocations as they summoned quickly my apprehensions, so they justifie me not to be criminall: And as for those reproaches of perfidiousness and Treason, they reflect fully on him who was so barbarous and false. As for my comportments (ever fince I came to his Court) did the misfortunes of my condition any whit leffen, or abate my courage? Might I not think after so many actions of valour and gallantry, that my thoughts prompted mee to more high, and fublime fuccesses? Ought hee not to have thought when he first usurped the Kingdom of my Father, and put my Brothers to death, that he then effectively declared a War, and difingaged my fidelity, which I might have owed him in the Quality of an Hostage; and that all these actions authorised my endeavours to revenge? Could not he understand that one whose ambition was so high as to aspire to Soveraigntie, and beea King, had that passion which !

which is so violent in all generous persons? But chiefly then when they are affured of a lawfull right to a Crown? Could he not foresee that it was impossible for me to be faithful, or a friend to one who usurped my Kingdom? All wars have not their Commencements from the proclamation of the Heralds mouthes. A fingle action of hostility may engage an Army. It is not in open War as in private Combates. In these latter we challenge, and defie our Enemie i he accepteth the defiance and answereth the challenge. But as for publick Enemies they make a Parley, and treat if they please; and Combats and Cessations of Arms, are actions equally voluntary. Generals of Armies are ever masters of their wils regulated to no bounds nor circumstances, but what serves these advantages. On these confiderations Amurath might not think it strange (after his Usurpation and Murther) if I should attend all advantages, and become his open enemie. As for preparations of war (when Princes are in low condition) they are not alwaies visible. And when one is reduced to a deplorable condition, the designs are onely in the head, but no ingenious person can sleep soundly, or rest securely, injured and removed from Soveraigney. And though 1 was in the power of mine enemie, without an Army, without a Souldier, without intelligence from any of mine own Subjects, out of mine own Country, without a person that I might confide or trust in, and without any resistance to so great a design, as I harboured in my bosome (excepting the hopes of heaven, and mine own valour) yet, if Amurath had well observed my actions, he might have easily discerned, that I cherished some great reserves within my soul. He might have feen the violence of my defires in a daily affiring after glory and renown, and he might have read (by the fymptoms of my heart) plainly in my countenance, that I was not capable to renounce my right to the Throne, nor be contented to be a flave all my life, though never fo glorious, That love and friendship which I made with the Officers and Souldiers of the Army, declared that I defigned some noble enterprise for my self, and perceiving that I was not an unactive Coward, it was impossible, but that he should dream of my endeavours to revenge his Injuries. Let him then not blame any but himself, if his policy hath been anticipated, nor reproach me as perfideous, for my defertions of him 'twas his fault and injury, no crime of mine. For first, he ought to have been in preparation to prevent all danger: And as for my felf, I did nothing but what became an open and noble Enemy. It was doubtlesse just in mee how to consult, to re-conquer Amuraths Usurpation, and by what way and means I might attain to the King my Fathers Throne. If I had discovered my discontents to his unjust proceedings, I had been in that moment made a Prisoner, and either strangled or poisoned the same day. If I had resolved to send to my Subjects, and to the Inhabitants of Croye to require their affiltance, my designes might have been discovered, and my Subjects thereby made more miserable, and possibly lesse usefull, or else, from being Subjects (by this meanes) might have been terrified into enemies. Now to have an absolute confidence in the love of the Mahometan fouldiers, (with which they courted my perfon) was a thing of great danger in appearance; and to have debauched the Grand Seigniors guards, and with them to have marched to the Christian Princes, to implore their aide and succours, was an attempt too curious and perillous to be effected, and if I had pre-Kk vailed

vailed with them, it is uncertain, whether the Princes would have been willing or able to commence a War of so great importance, and to expose their lives and Estates, to hazard, to recover mine: And if they had been resolute, the event might have been very doubtfull against so formidable an Enemy. I would then in this great juncture of misfortunes, propose a resolution to my self, to be the sole Aritzan of my successes And if I surprized Amurath, and converted his Forces to my service: I have not justly merited reproach and blame, but rather deserved honour and renown. Seeing that I have not done any thing but by the rules of Justice, nor enterprized any design but what Amurath might expect, if ever able to recompence his injuries. The great Cheate, and usurpation wherewith he affronted me in the eyes of all the World, prepared me to study revenge equal (if possible) to his Cruelty, falsenesse and Vsurpations, onely with this difference, when Amurath basely forfeited his Faith with me, he violated all rights of honour and justices And what I have done, was on equall retortion to his merit, to which I was obliged, as bound by nature to revenge the death of my Brothers, the libertie of my Country, mine own glory: and of God also, who is Justice it selfe: And had I no other consideration, but this last within my thoughts, may not I urge and assert (noble Captaines) that God was my Conductor in this action of revenge? Wherefore to have been faithfull to this Tyrant, (to whom I was not a Subject,) would not have onely Corroded my Conscience, but dishonoured that religion I professe. And should not I answer for my Subjects, if I suffered them to be allured to the errors of Mahumatism? And shall not I be culpable, and guilty of the demolition of all those Altars. which the Turks have destroyed, and as criminous as if I had built those Mosques, wherewith the Turks have filled those Townes which belong to me? If I had longer served Amurath, should I not have made my own subjects greater Slaves, and so have contributed more affistance to the Turks; farther to destroy those who adored the God of my Fathers? Think you that the Lord of Hofts could endure, that he who had been favoured with fuch extraordinary good successes, in warlike affaires, should not imploy his best skill and strength against these infidells? and by adventures to make themselves Martyrs, if not Conquerors? Oh no, the chiefest duty keeps w strictly in our fidelity to our Altars. Besides I am clearly absolved from his reproaches, in the judgement of all the World: As for Amurath he had no rules of Conscience, nor Religion to oblige his promises, but he could dispense with all relations, though never so sacred. But these obligations did not rest on me, for I was brought an infant to his Court and he was engaged to my Father; which Conditions, did not (with his fuccession) derive themselves on me. Now if after all those remarkable services, before and since the death of my brothers, and those memorable victories, which he gained, through my Counfells and valour in the reconquest of Rysia, without much effusion of his fouldiers bloud; if he were not touched with honour, nor guided by reason: am I to be blamed if I exercise Justice to my selfe, which he would not designe to render me? or could I longer serve that Prince, who after so many eminent Atchievements of his Warres, complotted all waies and means for my destrushion? Which to have undertaken publickly, might feem too dangerous, because he knew

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I had gained much affection with the Souldies; And as for my imprifonment I was too well beloved and guarded, to be fo furprized, and my previsions were more diligent then to be suddainly intrapped; having then possibility to kill me neither by sword nor poison, he contrived a third way, wherein hee aimed to dispatch me more honourably. Not long after our last return from victory, hee proclaimed a fummons to all the Noble Heroes of his Empire, to attend his Court, where he made preparations for martiall exercises and famous Tournies: at mhich solemn meeting, he hoped that in the divers Combates wherein (possibly) I might make re-encounter, I might receive a foile dishonourably, or fall fatally. (Brave Captaines) I vow to Heaven, this Treason is not in the number of any that can be excused, and serveth my turne to be justly more active in revenge: When I discerned the depth of this perfidions action, as I was dispatched with the Army into Hungary: I took my resolutions not long to fight for mine Enemie Amurath, and began to think of fighting for my selfs I resolved over my thoughts the power and interest of a Generall, and what it was to march before, and command an Army: These Gogitations reflected on me with shame to my selfe, who had so long a time been faithfull to an infidell: I began to have a horrour, and to be diffwaded from drenching my hands in Christians blood: In my march, I approached near to valiant Humades, who was a Commander in that Army, and he inspired into my ears, what shame possessed his foul, marching under the Turkish Standard. These discontents quickned my resolutions; and when I found my opportunity, I quitted the Infantry, and withdrew from that Army: This is that which Amurath calls Treason; but 'twas a just reward for a mortall Enemie, whom (I acknowledge) I ferved no longer, and whom I found would prove eternally faithlesse and ingrate. After the defeat, I retreated into my own Kingdome; you received me honourably, affifted me couragiously, to chase and destroy the Common Enemies. And was there any blacknesse in this action? Did I contrive to take away the life of Amurath ignobly? or by fuch base waies and meanes as he did mine? Did I invade his Empire as heusurped my Kingdome? May it not be rather faid to the contrary, that revenge was never taken more gentely, and more justly. And fince I have made the Conquest of my Kingdome, if I have continued the Warre, or refused the Treaties of peace from Amurath; it is not because I love not peace, but because I cannot find fidelity in that Prince, with whom I am to treat; And that his ends are not honourable, but to disarme an Enemy, whom he feared, and so to surprize (if possible) his Credulity, who is not to be easily taken by spetious pretences. Do not I then rather deserve the reputation of being faithfull, then perfidious? who so clearly manifest truth to my Enemie? and yet (to judgea little more exactly of this proceeding) recall into your memory (valiant Captaines) I conjure you, all those circumstances of my Comportment, when I was in the head of the Armies of Amurath, adventuring my life to inlarge his Conquests, and to advance his glory: had not you most friendly rebuked me in fecret, and marmured against me, and (not diving into the bottome of my heart) doubted whether I deserved to have been the Son of fo excellent a Prince, and coucluded that I had abandoned Christianity utterly; that the love of my Country was extinguisht,

guisht, and rooted out of my Soul, and consequently, that I was not affected with any sence of true noblenesse, and honour? And yet in your very repinings, you made Apologies for my actions, better then I knew how to make for felf: For you concluded that I had no other way to manifest my self more clearly the Son of the King my Father, then by those heroick actions, which I pursued in my imployment. The world will confesse, that men are not equally obliged to be as faithfull to perfidious Enemies as to faithfull Friends, to those who exercise artifice, and and fraud, as to those who love fincerity. It is doubtlesse great unworthinesse and basenesse to forfeit faith, and break Parole by malice, persidiousnesse or mercenary interest; but to be unfaithfull to a Traitor, to an Usurper, to a Murderer, and to quit his service for the recovery of a Crown and Kingdome, for the interest of a Country, and preservation of Christianity, if this desertion may be censured perfideousnesse by Amurath, in my sence, and in reason it rather deserves Elogies and Panegyricks then injuries and reproaches. And if it be true, that Fortunate usurpers advanced to eminent qualities, and attended with successes, in time become acknowledged as legitimate Princes: Is it not more reasonableand true, that that Prince (to whom a Crown doth effectually appertain) deserves the highest honour, who conquers and forceth it from his hands, who hath most unjustly, and tyrannously usurped it? And are not all means used for the recovery allowed? and as for the act, doth it not rather merit the opinion of glory and renown, then the accusation of a crime? No, no, the observation of ones Parole hab as well its bounds and limitations as all other things. The interest of ones Country and Religion are principall, and high concernments, and admit of aifpenfations in some degrees. We read, that Rome hath been preserved, when Fathers have preferred her honour and fafety before the lives of their own children: But (some may say) this was unnaturall and a cruell act, yet the wife Romans not onely permitted, but commended those Patriots who reverenced their Countrie with fogreat estimation above their Children; and that which seemed cruelty, and inhumanity in private relations, appeared as a laudable facrifice when it ferved (in this high obligation) to defend or protect ones Country. It is certainly true, that those generous Fathers have with great zeal and deep affection, most stoutly fought for the preservation of their children; their liberties, lives, and honours (on other occasions) and have not spared to hazard the last drop of their blood. But where the consideration of ones Country is in competition with love to children, the publick interest hathever prevailed most powerfully, and affection to children is less vigorous, and Fathers are encouraged to see their children die, when it is for the service of the Republique, with less forrow, and regret; and fuch actions merit less of blame, and more of Now if Fathers are pardonable, exposing their children to glory. death, how tolerable is it for me to violate my Parole, for the redemption, and preservation of my Country? Yet you will tell me, that a Paganexample doth not necessarily produce a conclusion for a Christian: But if Heathens have thus proceeded for the defence of their Country, what may not Christians do for the interest of their Religion? which bond is so sacred, as it ought to be the end and aim of all their best endeavours: Besides what is fit to regulate the Soveraign actions of Princes, but onely Religion, which confineth rules to their Policy, and ought ought ever to fit President in their Counsells. On these Principles, wee repent not of our pretences to fidelity, having endured fo long a fervitude to obtain so good an ends And we believe and resolve; that it is no dishonour nor injustice to be unfaithfull to an infidell Prince, who hath given the occasion by the violation of his Faith and Parole. Come on (brave Souldiers) then, let us march, without remorfe, and let us vanquish and destroy this common Enemy of Christianity, and use all craft and art, as well as force of Armes. Let us not be so scrupulous as Alexander the great (that invincible Conqueror) we are not affured of his Fortune, nor of his Valour, and wee know certainly, that we have not his retinue and train: let us use all stratagems for our advantage, and be as active in the night as in the day; and if we vanquish, the Sun will gloriously shew us the effects of our Conquests; and if webe worsted in our nocturnall and more secret attempts. the darknesse will give an umbrage, and obscure our shame and Cowardise; as well as hide our misfortunes. To conclude (Generous Captaines) we are resolved to vanquish and effect our resolutions, and to attain our Conquests; we must be heroick in our actions, danted with no opposition, nor neglecting any occasion of advantage. Wherfore prepare your felves to be practicall in the military science, that you may be as successfull as valiant. For we are but feeble and few, and the enemies puissant, and numerous, and if we do not furprise them as well as fight them, their vast multitudes will suppresse our Valour and Courage. Thus (valiant Captaines) you see that our designes are innocent and generous; and that insidelity it self to a perfidious Tyrant (being well managed) may gain immortall honour and glory.

The Censure.

THE reasons of Scanderbeg appear powerfull and strong, yet amongst them all there will be a generall debility's if religion had not been his warrant and justification for his actions. This Prince (through his incomparable valour) attempted many thousand glorious actions, and effected wonders, to the amazement of that age whereinhe lived: he defeated Armies, which for their vast multitudes could scarce be numbred; He dammed up that great Torrent which stopped not, till it had ravaged the moiety and greater part of the World; he caused one Emperor to die with shame, grief, and dishonor; He forsed Mahomet the second (who was the Conqueror of so many Empires and Kingdomes) to testifie, by that excessive joy, which he conceived of his death the extraordinary fear he had of him during his life. And (not to flatter truth) this great Generall Scanderbeg, was (doubtlesse) the greatest Heroe of these latter ages. Tet (not to speak partially) had not the interest of Religion been considerable, all the glory of his latter actions, could not have excused the violation of his Parole. For to face about and joyne with the Enemie, in a Battail to faigne a flight for fear as being too weak, and to defeat those Troops that he commanded, to serve the Enemy, are Circumstances so odious that they had neede of all the importance and Arguments of Christianity to help them to plead for a specious pretence, and to Apologize. I know well Saint Augustine made his retracta-

tions, and that repentance of former crimes, is a most essentiall part to Religion. I well remember that a Cannon of the Counsell of Constance (where John Hus and Hierome of Prague were burnt) dischargeth Faith, and obligeth it not to be kept with Hereticks; and thence some frame the arguments, that if Faith is not to be kept with them. much leffe with infidells. But as this Cannon favoureth not of Orthodox Truth, fo it is not generally obliging nor Catholick and Christian doctrine (secundum fundamenta) The Question was inthat Councel concerning the Pasport of Princes given to Hereticks, and whether they could protect them in their addresses and returns from Synods and Councels where it feems Faction and not truth conclude th in the negative, afserting, that particular Pasports and Conducts oblige none to keep faith but those who grant the Pasports, and not the Councels, which consent not, and had a separated power of permission. It is true, if this Cannon were receiv'd as a Conclusion of an Oecumenick, General Councel, then on all occasions a man might wiolate his Parole and fath to Infidels, but this gu stion is rather Theological then Moral, and Political. If this were true on the pretense of Heresie, or Insidelity, no Faith would be kept, and so (consequently) humane fociety and divine truth would be utterly destroyed. Now as for Morality and Policy, they conclude, the Faith and Parole of Princes ought to bee inviolable and facred, which if abused reflects ever upon the violators, with the consequences of irreparable shame, or incomparable perill. By virtue of this argument, the action of Scanderbeg is more liable to censure: And if at present this Prince had drawn his sword against France in the Kingdom of Naples, in favour of the King of Aragon, and wore a Red Scarfe to distinguish his resolutions against the white ones of France; and twere so, that the Wars were yet continued betwixt both Nations, it might be concluded from Scanderbegs own example, that it were lawfull to be treacherous, and it were no error to insist on those arguments which he used for his own purpose: But now from Albania let us passe to the Kingdom of Polonie, and there see Henry the third of France on that I brone of Polonie, where we shall meet with a question very curious for its examination, and most important to be determined. This Prince (being secretly advertized of the death of CHARLES the Ninth his Brother) consulteth with his Ministers and chiefest Considents, Whether he ought to prefer (in his election) a peaceable, and quiet Kingdom before a Kingdom full of Wars and Tumults, and humble and obedient Subjects, before Subjects revolted. And whether it were just to deprive Polonie of his presence, and to return to France, which he had so voluntarily abandoned. This is the subject of the discourses which this eloquent and ingenious Prince reasoneth as it followeth.

HENRY



HENRY THE THIRD TO PIBRACK AND PHILIP, DESPOTES.

Hose who onely judge by outward appearances, and by the externall pomp which dazelleth Vulgar eyes, believe not that there can be any difficulty in the choice and election of Crownes, and imagine nothing more easie then to part with one Scepter to deceive another, and to descend from one Throne to mount to another more glorious; con-

cluding, that the change of Diadems for others more illustrious, is very acceptable; and that Soveraignty is agreeable with generous minds, but chiefly then when the Domination is inlarged. Yet you shall finde it most certaine, that it is more facile for a Prisoner and Slave to make choice of his Irons (though all punishments are naturally unwelcome) then for Kings to make an Election of different, and severall Crowns. The Slaves know that the lightest chaines are alwaies the least incommodious: But it is hard to determine whether the most illustrious, and splendent Crowns, and the most elevated, and sublime Thrones are most desirable. As Royal Crownes may invite, so those sparkling Diadems ought not to dazle the eyes of those who aspire after them. Scepters are as well ponderous and weighty, as majestick and glorious: The Thrones of Kings are seated in high elevations, and those who ascend them ought to be sure that their Foundations are well laid, and the stairs and degrees firm where by they mount them. Now in the examination of these occurrences, it becometh me to consider by what right I am King of Polonie, and what Rights I have to the Crown of France. To this end, that I may precifely determine to which of my Subjects I owe my presence, and to which of these Kingdomes I may more properly bestow my assiduous and daily care; this being the most principle motive that should oblige my resolutions justly to afford them my presence, and the chiefest cause that may endear their loyalty and obedience to their Prince, As for my Subjects of Polonie, must confesse they have freely chosen me their King, and voluntarily submitted to my Domination; and (not to silence their bounty) have presented me with that Crown. My Birthright hath done the fame thing to me, and Princes elevated to Soveraignty, one nothing to their

Subjects, but hold their Scepters onely from God. Subjects have the buth of Subordination and Servitude, and Princes are of absolute Soveraignty. As for the Suffrages of the people in the election of a King, they are bonds and chains of their absolute obe dience, riveted by their tongues in the acclamations which they cannot juftly violate and break. And nothing elfe but expressions and unanimous submissions to that power whom some more eminent qualities & noblenesse hath set them above them; who though eligible by their consent, yet cannot be deposed or deserted without the horrid crimes of Rebellion and Treason. But I have not any cause to be jealous of my Subjects unworthiness or disloyalty; for I am King in Polonie not onely by legitimate election, but in a continued approbation, being well affured, that there passeth not a day wherein I have not the constant Vowes, Prayers, and hearty Devotions of the people, supplicating the Heavens for a continuation of my prosperity, and have a daily assurance, and ratification of their first Election by constance of their publick Exultations. So that I reign as well in my Subjects hearts as in the Kingdome of Polonie. They feare mee reverently because they love me; they obey me dutifully, because I am Master of their affections; they strive to inlarge my Domination, and to strike a terrour into others, to make my Reign the more fecure, and to prefent an impossibility to all endeavours, to give a check to the prefent authority, peace, plenty, aud tranquillity. My Reigne seemes fo folidly established, that no accident can shake the Foundation of so well-grounded a Soveraignty. What then can a Prince desire more then the fruition of a glorious Crown, attended with the Fidelity of dutifull, and most loyall Subjects? What Authority more pleasant then to bee beloved of those whom wee command? And to have no other thoughts nor care for Justice, but in considerations how to recompence faithfull Subjects, and dutifull Servants; and to Reigne fo prosperoully, as to have no cause to exercise the Royall virtue of Clemencie; but towards persons more unfortunate then criminous? The ordinary meanes of establishing Peace is by the Ravages of Warre, and the effusion of much blood; but that which is bought by othersat so hard a price, cost not my Subjects a teare since the first day of my Election to the Crown. And they are so united Fraternally amongst themselves, that they are equally linked in the common interest of their Princes breast. And as the Scripture saith, that God holdeth in his hands the hearts of Kings, fo may I say (but still with reverence) that the hearts of my Subjects are in the hands of my felf, their Prince.

All these reasons (first alleadged) how can I with wisdome quit my Kingdome of Polonie? And if ugly Ingratitude bee so monstrous a crime even amongst private persons, how detestable and odious should it appeare in the eyes of a Prince? who is in that sublime degree, and so farre above others, as not onely obliged to gratiste and recompence Givilities, but to heape honours and multiply Favours freely on persons capable of Princely bounty and Generosity. To abandon then those subjects, who so freely chose me their King, and that Kingdome which is so abundant in peace, and plenty, cannot but affect my thoughts with much trouble, and perplexity. And on the other side, to resolve to adventure to wear that Crown, whose splendor is so much obscured, where the Kingdome is so much divided,

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where those who recall me, feare me more then love me, or if they feem to love me, do it more for their own ends then my fervice: And (Farther) where there are to be found as many Rebells as Subjects, and a civill Warre devouring the very heart of the Country, wherein that great body no one part is intirely found, or free from the Epidemick disease of the State. These considerations may retard and deterre my resolutions from going to France. Besides the Provinces of Poitou, Normandie, Dauphine and Languedock are in armes against me: Great. seditions shines, and heresies are insolently spread, and have generally infected the Kingdom of France, and (perhaps) I may be forced to the endeavours of a new Conquest, before I may hope for a quiet and peaceable possession of the Kingdome; and that (usually) I should beforced to make my entrance into the most Famous Townes of France, rather by the breaches which the Cannons might make, then by the Gates of the Townes, loyally lying open. And so, to march triumphantly, attended with fuch joyfull acclamations as usually accompany Princes in their fresh addresses, and entrances to their Crowns. Imagine you what a strange and unwelcome alteration would that be, to quit a Kingdome wherein all the Subjects are in repose, and humble and affectionate towards their Prince, and to march into another, where the fields are overstrewed with dead corples, where the greatest part of the people deserve rather the severest Punition, then pardon, or the grace of Clemency, as having offended, (and that irrepentantly) the just authority of all divine and humane rights. Might I not better constitute the Queen my Mother Regent of France, and appoint my Lieutenant Generall for the Conduct of my Martiall affaires? For I must confesse, though I am obliged to France for my Birth and life: Yet I owe and hold my Scepter from Polonie: It is in the life and blood of illustrious (ap t, whereby I may claim the Crown of France; but it is the Franke and voluntary bount y of my Subjects hearts, wherby I hold the Scepter of Polonie; And how shall I equally gratifie the rights and merits which both Crowns may challenge from me? If I go into France with hopes to terminate that War, I may very probably raise a War in Polonie, where peace is so well established. And may it be lawfull to attempt an uncertain good with an affurance certainly to cause some dangerous evill? (In this weighty concernment) ought I not as well to reflect on my subjects, as on my selfe, and in both relations, looke up to Heaven to be better guided? If I consider the love of my Subjects of Polonie, I must acknowledge they presented me with that Crown: Yet I must not blaspheme, It is God alone that raiseth and pulleth down from the Throne, and he maketh the elective as well as the hereditary Kings. All Soveraignty and Crownes absolutely depend on his pleasure, and authority. And it is a Law indispensable, that all Crownes one their Homage and duty to the King of Kings. As for the people who honour Kings with their acclamations, they do no more in the Ceremony of inauguration, then to proclaim their own obliga ions to obedience: But it is God who giveth the Soveraignty of Kingcomes, who appoints his terre striall vicegerents, and Ministers after his Calestiall Pattern, to exercise justice and mercy. It is he to whom alone Kings owe account, and it is an inseparable Comitant to the Royall Office, to fuccour the pressing necessities of the subject impartially, without the distinction of Persons or qualities, or injury to therules of Justice Min

In these considerations, it is evident to all the World, that whether I hold the Crown of Folonie or the Crown of France, the tenure is chiefly and folely from God. And as for the People of both Kingdomes. they swell with equal affections in my heart: And whether I continue in Polony, or advance towards France, I am to be as a common Father, and Parent to the Country, and without respects of either repose in peace, or hazard in War, it is my duty to regard what is most just and equitable; and as to either Kingdome what may be more commodious, and more glorious. Let us fee then (I befeech you) whether it be more reasonable to quit a Kingdom where my presence is necessary, to prevent a War, or to go to another, where it may be very doubtfull, whether my person may recover and establish a peace. It is not permitted to effect any evill, though with a good end, much leffe in attempt of so uncertain an assurance. Those famous Asts which great and hardy Spirits attempt, in usurpations of Empires and Kingdomes, are no leffe criminous before God, then the more common horrid crimes are among finen. And is it not as great an injury to robb a King from a Kingdom, as a Kingdome from a King? It hath arrived and faln out sometimes, that Souldiers have for saken their Captaines, and Captaines their Generalls, and Generalls their Princes and Masters, because they have been either base or false; But for a generous and prudent Prince to have quitted his Faithfull Subjects, and to make a choice of others, of whose fidelity he hath had no experience, but rather danger, whether they would prove dutifull and loyall, is an accident, which (perhaps) hath never happened, unlesse in this example of my person. Not withstanding the tendernesse and equity, which causeth a Father to leave his Children, who are not in danger to make hast and runne to deliver those that are in eminent peril, encourageth my resolutions, in this Conjuncture, and invites me to leave them, now being more prosperous and happy, and more able to succour others who are very miserable. When the Sea is calme, every ordinary Pilot doth presume to work at the Helm, or guide the ship: but when the Sea is rough, and the VV aves wanton and furious; the most skillfull Seaman observes the Compasse, and steeres the Course. It is he who chiefly grapples with the tempest, when all the company (with trembling eyes and eares) attend his Counsells, and his motions: It is he on whom they depend to preserve the Ship from Rockes, and protect the Vessell from the fury of the Rowling VVaves, and (at last) to bring them safely to the Port, and Harbour. Do not you then so much admire, if you heare me preferre VV arrebefore Peace, and rather expose my selfe to troubles, then to perpetuate that tranquillity, which I doe now enjoy. Polonie is furnished with many Noble Personages, who can easilie preserve her in that good Estate, wherein the Kingdome is now established: But Faire France now is rich in nothing but broiles and troubles, which are (at present) so highly inflamed, as probably not to be extinguished without the approach of my person. A Prince is a star in himself so gloribus, that it oftentimes obscures by the beams of Majesty (though arising a far off) those lesser and feeble lighs, which (in his absence) skine bright in the Peoples eyes, and grow conspicuous before some eminent deluded Grandees: But when that pettty sylendor vanisheth, their credit and reputation (which hath shone in the night of tumults and divisions) diminisheth

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alfo. And then Revolts and Seditions commonly shaddow them selves under the Umbrage of more just protection, and (recovered out of the clouds of Treason) submit to the brightness of true Maje fty, confiding there to finde the Rayes of Clemencie. You fee then my refolutions are not unreasonable, and that a Prince in equity is not onely obliged to live where he can have most honour, ease, and plenty, but where hee may still increase his renowne, and more gloriously exercise his royall dignity. And whereas it may be objected, that Polonie may fall into the miseries of War, and so consequently some evils attend that Kingdome, by reason of my motions, and advance towards France; I answer, the Generall of an Amy, who hath given and gained a Battail, is not responsible (by Martiall discipline) for the logie of three or four thousand men plaine in that re-encounter; and the Cryes of the Widdows and Orphans (on this occasion) cannot hinder the Trophies and Triumphs of Victory and Joy, nor extinguish the Bonefires of Exultation. Where (on the contrary) a private Captaine having rashly, or imprudently exposed his Company to great danger, and to no purpose, and without order) hath sometimes been sentenced not onely to lose his place, but also his life. Thus 'tis true, the least circumstance of dishonour and imprudence changeth the face of things. Now in Politick affairs it is sufficient if the design be reasonable, though the effects succeed not; the chiefe Commander, though failing in the enterprise, is free from blame: Good Counfels, and good Intentions (though honest) are not alwaies fortunate; and we are not to judge of the actions of Princes by successes and usuall events.

Notwithstanding I shall further adde, that my removing to the Crown of France may contribute greater advantage and safety to the State of Polonie: For thinke you not that the Neighbour Princes will continue their power with more moderation, or be in more fear, when they shall understand that he who was King of Poland shall become absolute Master of the first, and greatest Kingdome in Christendom? And that he and his Allies may bee therefore more formidable to all the Princes in the earth? Alexander the Great commanded Subjects (though remote and distanced) in the farthest parts. The Senators of Rome, who never budged out of that Royall City, made intire Provi nces to tremble, which were no nearer the Capitoll then Cracoria is to Paris. If that great Conqueror Alexander quitted the pleasant scituation of Macedonia for the great riches and glory of Persia, wee may conclude then that Dangers are companions of honour, and agree with illustrious minds. On this account I may be permitted to leave Polonie, to goe and raign in France. But you will tell me, the Macedonians murmured when Alexander resolved to leave them, and advanced toward Persia. I answer, Alexander aimed at the glory of that Empire, who was a stranger and no Persian; but I have a more naturall right to the Crowne of France, which is not onely an apparent, and casuall Interest, to ground my expectations and defignes, in the Government of that Illustrious Kingdome. Wherefore the Polanders and French united in one Crowne, are to bee incorporated in the mutuall relations of ayde and affistance. I cannot but esteeme it a degree of Inhumanity to abandon those, who presented mee with a Royall Crowne; and therefore I have a contestation testation in my soul, how to deport my selfe in an equal dispensation of Soveraignty and favour to both Kingdomes. It is not valour alone that causeth Princes to be renowned, but bounty, sweetnesse, gratitude, and moderation. Virtues which make no great noise, but like deep streames glide smoothly and gently, gain the Subjects hearts, makes the Soveraigne more glorious, his Government more acceptable, and his renown more immortall: And the Historians have not been lesse industrious in the description of the passages of Granica, and the Battail of Arbella, then of the great Armies of the Macedonian Conqueror over the numberlesse Forces of Darius.

These things being so, why may I not expect the reward of Honour? being so generous as not to resolve absolutely to quit those who love mee; and still referve so much Equity and Justice due to them for their Election of me to bee their King, that I may not force them to repent of their Royall Favour: And if I bee fo bounded in my moderation as rather to make choice of hardship and trouble with hopes of doing better fervice, then of dalliance (in the abundance of delicious plenty) where the Princes and Nobles are as fortunate and happy as they can wish themselves; On this ground I make my resolution to advance towards those parts, where true glory leads and conducts me, and every step of my march (even from the first motion) shall be with design of equal honour to Polonie and France; towards which wee shall not make more haste to search out the delicacies and pleasures of that Kingdome, but proposing a Method and course of Moderation, resolve to expose our selfe to the fury of a Civill Warre, with hopes to recover an establisht Peace in that distempered and divided State. Hee who is refolute to leave repose to find out trouble, the design of his actions being just, hemust needs be attended, with honour and glory, and in these occasions acting for the preservation of Religion, and restauration of defaced Altars, fighting with ardour and zeal, cannot but be famous; if he destroy that great Monster, which (at present) threatens the ruin and desolation of France.

It is not then mine own will that induceth me to leave my Subjects, but a supernall, and heavenly interest that chiefly snatcheth mee from them: And Morall Generofity is obliged to give place, and yeeld to Divine Policie: And fince (to speake rationally) my Birth hath made mee a King, as to this latter respect, I cannot with Justice and Honour quit the Priviledges of my Birth-right, and being advanced to so glorious a Crowne, I am not only obliged to Reign, but to rule with Justice, and so to support that great lustre, and glory which is derived on me from my Predecessors. As for the quality of Elected Kings, the Successors are not obliged to preserve the honour of those who ruled before them; but Princes who come to their Crownes by Inheritance, have Kings their Fathers, as well as their Predecessors; and being naturally descended from them, they are not onely to endeavour to bee glorious, but likewise engaged to support the splendour and renown of their Ancestors. And the Scepter of France hath been borne up by fo many famous Princes, that as it were ignominious in me to refuse so glorious a Birth-right, so it were ignoble not to endeavour by a fignal emulation, to imitate (if not exceed) the chiefest Virtues of those Illustrious Princes;

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which if I should not undertake, my neglect would prove an inglorious declaration to all the world, that I tacitely renounced a Royall Right and Scepter, and was unworthy or unable to weare fo splendent a Crowneand Diademe, and had not in me the Valour and Virtues of mine Ancestors: I must part, part (I fay) my deare Friends) though with great griefe and reluctancie from those who have received us with to great joy, and whole hearts are overwhelmed with forrow, at our preparations to leave them. Oh Heavens! what an unparallel'd conjuncture am I falne into? I speake of my departure from Poland, but doe not well know how to finde out the way and meanes, being so inviron'd with the affections of so many thousands, from whose vigilant love I can scarce withdraw my felf. My consultations are onely with my self, and you my Friends; and I am well affured that he who had so universall a consent, and generall acclamations, when hee was crowned, shall not have one vote or voice to quit his Crown: If hee shall referre his resolution to the publick deliberation of the people. I can easily (if I will) stirre up all the Kingdome of Polonie into Armes, and ingage them not to permit my departure. So that I can fay, I am free, and yet a Prisoner, and that which seemes more cruell, I cannot complaine of my Guards, which have so great passion to obey my commands, that (on the contrary) I am obliged to love them. And now after all this conflict, and debate, I must resolve to leave them, and that for ever: And yet (which is more cruell) without giving them notice, or so much as saying, adieu my Subjects, my Friends. Whoever read of an accident so strangely tempered as this of mine is? I am gratefull, and thankfull in my foul to the Polanders for their favours, and yet I must appear to them, and all the world, uncivill and monstrous.

Fortune, in this occasion, seems to overthrow, and beat downe all her former favours, and hath rather impoverished, then inriched me. I could rather wish that she had never presented me with the Crowne of Polonie, then so to have snatcht, and ravisht mee from thence. But (after all this) I know that Kings neither live, nor Reign for themselves, there is a fatal Law and Decree, which guideth them as wel as inferiour private persons; and they are as well bound up to the rules of obedience, as Subjects to their Princes wills and pleasures. Policy doth often oppose Religion, but the latter ought to bee the chiefest Councellour of a King. Justice and Clemencie require things, which seeme intirely different; the love of peace, and ambition of true Renowne familiarly oppose one another : to be a King, and in that Royall Quality more illustrious, is certainly to be something above an ordinary person. Bee not you then startled at the diversity of my reasons, or difficulty of my resolutions in this point. The paths which lead Princes to Supremacie, are not so directly beaten, as that they may not erre, and deviate from the right way; then principally when the affaires are sublime, important, and extraordinary.

Examples in Antiquitie demonstrate the truth in this case, for to bee a King by election, and to bea King by birth, and to bee beloved of the first Subjects; and misapprehended and prejudicated (for the most part) by others, to leave those who are ex-

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perimentally faithfull, and to addresse to others who are tumultuous, infolent, and uncivill: to abandon the delights of peace, and to make choice of the affaires of Warre; not to be able to quit the faithfull without griefe, nor to relieve an d succours others without certain infamy and danger: To conclude, to be constrained to flye from a Kingdome, for fear of being forced to raigne Soveraignly: These are such different varieties of concernments, as humane prudence rarely or never consulted with before: and in which, the deepest policy will prove too shallow, to found the bottome, and make a resolution, what to choose or leave. But in the extremity and streight, my owne reason, and thoughts of true honour, must be our guides, what course to steere, and no other Pilots (how skillfull soever) can be usefull to me in this nick of so great importances. I doubt not but that my return into France may indanger to change, & alienate the affection of my subjects in Poland (perhaps) into the quality of as great hatred as it was of kindnesse. For it is the course and effect of love once irritated, to turn into fury. But if this misfortune should attendme, I shall (at last) gain this advantage, that posterity may better judge of the sweetnesse and temper of my domination, and Reigne by their telentment: and, that election and choice that they made of me, wherein they might (possibly) have been abused. But my heart hath been utterly incapable of unworthinesse, or unthankfullnesse to loyall and faithfull Subjects. See (noble friends) the reasons of my re-solutions in the election of an object so extreamly rare, which have perswaded me to withdraw from the Polish Court, and to addresse towards France. I have nothing more to adde, but onely that I am a Prince, whom a Crown which nature hath prepared for me, cannot so absolutely comfort and encourage, as the losse of another, which Fortune, and my own merits presented to me, doth afflict and trouble mc.

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The Censure.

HE fancy and device of Henry the third, was two Crownes in an Escutcheon, representing that of France, and that of Polonie: And this was the Soul and life of the Motto: The last I look for in Heaven. But he that invented this device, did not think to have made so suddain a change, speedily to have received the last, which his own invention and Mo. to seemed to foretell, and Prophesie. On these and such like occasions, we may cry out with Si. Paul, Oh, the depth of the riches of the wisdome and knowledge of God, whose judgements are incomprehensible, and his waies past finding out? Who is he that knoweth the thoughts of the Lord, and who hath been his Counsellor? who could have faid to Henry de Valois. when he acquitted his Crown of Polonie to return into France, that in the ascent to his new Throne, he should finde so suddain a degree, of descent to his Tombee, and that his entertainment of that Scepter, should prove a speedy means to the losse of his life, by so violent and so unusuall a death; And even then, (when his designes and Ambitions lead him to have his head crowned with a gloriom Diadem) he should loose the fight and brightnesse of the Sun. The Prophet and foreteller of such infallible trub, Should have had neither Faith nor Favour for his remard. Tis true, he removed from a Climate, where Ice, and Snow, and thick Foggs dwell eternally, and returned to another aire, which is more temperate, and pleasant, and the diversity of seasons equally requlated. Whence man may fee how the great Creator of the Universe hath made all things with weight, number, and measure. In Polonie this Prince encountred with extremity and barpneffe of cold: and here in France he became reproached by his own Mother, who formerly so doted and Idolized her Son: he acquitted the rough and savage Polanders, and returned to a Country, where he met with leffe civilities: he succeeded a King, who was not much loved, whose raign was violent in Civill Broiles. This Prince sam (whilf he was Duke of Anjou) how he was the Peoples Darling , and the Kingdomes delight. And therefore his reason might perswade him to return, where (probably) those Flames of affection could not (as yet) be extinguished. So that his Management (upon this occasion) seemeth to be most judicious, and his choice equitable, and both these were confirmed to him, by the testimonies of glory, and triumph, which did meet him, and attend on him on the Frontiers of France, and seemed to promise to him a prosperous Raigne, accompanied with much Felicity. But, (oh the vanity of all Earthly Contentations) this temperate Climate, and fair Kingdome, found no entertainment for her King, but outrages, and tempestuous broiles: The Queen his Mother (who so passionally loved the Duke of Anjou) had no kindue fe for him when he was King of France. The People civilized at some seasons, at his approach, became more barbarous then Scythians: they endeavoured to asperse his honour, and assaulted his life, and (at last) forced him from his Throne, to which he never made (after his misfortune) a re-ascent : his Reign was almost as bloody as that of his Predecessors: before his death he descerned himself the object of the Peoples scorne, and odium, whom formerly they had so hugged in their affections, and extolled with admiration: and after a grappling with many mischievous reencounters, he was unfortunately affaffinated by an abominable Monster, a Jacobin Frier. Kings by this example may learne to humble themselves before the Throne of the great King of Kings; who elevateth them to their Roy-

all dignities. That God which foundeth, establisheth, and preserveth Empires, can shake their foundations, dissipate their forces, and destroy their strength at his pleasures and no earthly power is so firm and puissant, but he can as easily break to shivers as a Potters Vessell. A Royal Scepter is but a Reed in comparison of that Iron Rod wherewith God chastizeth: And when Kings are thrust out of Gods Providence, Grashoppers, and Frogs, shall prove enemies too formidable for their refistance: And there is nothing so feeble, amongst all the creatures but hall be strong enough (when God is displeased) to ruinate and destroy them. Let not then great ones affie in their subtilty, nor trust in uncertaine Riches, nor in the numbers of Forces and Armies. Thefe are things so farre from securing Princes, that they doe not onely fail them, but serve to pull down their authority. These attendants are of a mortall, and mutable condition, and no security is to be sought, or setled but in God alone, who is unchangeable. And to this purpose the Morals of the Evangile are better for Princes then the profoundest rules of Aristotle, and the deepest Polititians; and the dependency of a bleffing from heaven transcendeth all Princely experience, or humane Counsell. He who takes care for the Birds of the air, forgets not Princes; but when they first offend and forget their Maker, their ruin is (probably) not far off. To conclude this name of Henry the third of France transfers me to another of that name, Henry the eighth of England, who found himself much streightened what to resolve; for having elevated Anne Bullen to the Throne, and having repudiated Katherin, he found himself con-

strained to put her to death for her Fallhood, and Incontinency: he seemed to struggle with many difficulties, which gave a check to his resolutions, but over-ruled by these reasons following, he caused the Lady to die, whom he professed to have loved more dearly then his own Soul.



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HENRY the VIII

THOMAS CROMVVELL

Lord High Chamberlain of

ENGLAND.



and yeilded to my passion, when I resolved to advance Anne Bullen to my Throne, so I ought no more to be attentive to their Importunities, who endeavoured to perswade me not to sacrifice to my revenge, this oblation which I caused Crown'd. For it is expedient that this victime expiate her crime and mine it being certain that I have been no less culpable in too much loving and honouring her, then she hath been false and

unworthy towards me. The nature of her crime is of fuch deformity, that it is not capable of the beams of Clemency. I am well affured that Agnfus Cafar, who made this vertue to appear fo illustrious towards the lat. ter end of his reign, repented of nothing more, but that he had elected the punishment of Exile for the correction of the evil inclination of his daughter Fulia, and had not been more severe to so notorious a crime : which is most odious in any of that fex, but more intolerable and impardonable in a Queen then any others. If I were permitted to give that fin a name, I should be much troubled how to describe it; it is so black and foul. Had Anne no other umbrage to have shadowed her, and prevented her from that shameless choice, modesty (the common protection of that sex) might have guarded her chaftity: and the might have been perswaded, that purity, and a spotless conversation would have proved the greatest ornament and beauty to her; without which, beauty it felf becomes but an object of scorn and aversion, a loose and impudent garb provoking rather an adium and deteftation, then love and admiration: And as Ladies have nothing elfe to observe and attend more then vertue and modesty, and what may belt and most grace their Conversation; seeing their thoughts are not cumbred with the conduct of Armies, the charge of the Magistracy, nor the hard study of Learning and Policy: their whole duty ought to be entirely imployed in a modest and vertuous comportment. It is that which renders: them most amiable and lovely, and continues daily a Creation of new Charms, to honor and adore their beauty.

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But besides this general reason, there are many others, which justifie her actions to have been most detestable: Shee was not only of that sex, to whom Chaftity and Modesty is a Vertue necessary and essential, but above these degrees; she was a Queen, wife to a famous King; a Prince, who paffionately loved her, and so honoured her as to put a Crown upon her head; towards which, had not her Princes favour invited her she durst not have presumed to have lifted up her eyes, A Throne is a place of Majesty, to highly elevated, that as on the Sun, it is not to be looks on by a Subject, but with stupor and admiration; and a Crime approaching towards it, is not to be endured. That place is facred, and not to be prophaned; so base, so foul an attempt to come near fo illustrious a presence, cannot, ought not to be excused. Kings in their greatest weakness may not digest so foul an injury: There are alwayes some pretences at hand to shadow and cover faults and errors. If Princes be debonaire, they are flattered as peaceful and gentle; if weak, as kind and indulgent; if cruel, they are accounted more severe and jealous of their Authority; if they have the Art to rule and reign, they are effeemed subtle; to have much of the Fox, and to be prodent. Thus Kings in their authority are attended with Apologies, and their Power brings to them fair gloffes for all their actions: But if a Queen lose her honour and reputation, there is no cure for such a wound there is nothing to be faid more, but that the deferves to be removed from the Throne and cast into her Tomb; where her crimes and infamie may be buried with her: which were the more notorious in her, because the was advanced from fo low a Quality, to be so great a Princess: And ha ving stained her honour, nothing can be able to expiate her offence, but the ftreams of her own blood. The love of her Prince was not passionate to an ordinary degree, but to a kind of Idolatry; and consequently, her mo. defty should have respected the majesty of the Throne. And if the quality of her husband had not been sufficient to have obliged her to Vertue, and Fidelity; the abundance of his ardent affection might have charmed her to mutual tenderness: And if this passion could not prove predominant in her foul; the relations of her husband, her fervant, and her King, who had courted her with a Crown, might have inveloped entirely, and swallowed up her ambition. And should not all these Engagements have merited her acknowledgments; and preserved her from defiling the Royal Bed, and so to dishonour her self and disoblige her Prince? No, all these obligations were too feeble for this inconstant and immodest wretch. This woman advanced to be a Queen, though the Soveraign mistress of my foul whom I crowned gloriously with mine own hands, became an Infidel to my favours, and her own faith; and fell so low, that she lodged within the Cabinet of her heart, those unworthy persons, who deserve not to be named, but as to make up an Aggravation in their mutual offences. Shee (I fay) who knew well with what Contestations I wrestled to obtain her Coronation, and faw to what dangers and fcorn I exposed my self for the love of her: Neither confidered the Laws of God nor man; flighted the peace and prosperity of my Kingdom, regarded not the repose of my People, but stained her own honour, and my content and Glory. Although I repudiated Queen Katharine, who was a vertuous and Immaculate Lady; and caused her Death by this second marriage, whereby I drew upon me the rage and envy of the Emperour, irritated the Pope, and feemed to fcom the Alliance with the Crown of France, proposed to me by the Cardinal of York, my Creature and Favourite, whom I disobliged and provoked

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to defert my fervice; by whose Ministry and conduct, I so mightily prospered: Though the exigencie of Affairs transported my passion, and ob. scured my reason; so that I became A disturber of Religion, Sacrilegious, violent, and cruel to my Subjects; and grew fo refolved as to serve mine own lusts and inclinations, causing a violent change; wherewith transported, I cruelly put to death one of the chiefest of all my Subjects, the Lord Chancellor Sir Thomas More; and to proftrate all things in my kingdom to the pleasure of my self and Mistress; and therefore renouncing Justice and paternal tenderness, preferred Elizabeth daughter of Anne Bullen, before Mary the daughter of Queen Katharine; And so carrying on my defigns in a tempest of Passion, I removed all things out of the way that might feem to refift and oppose my expectations : I punished some with exile, others with imprisonment, and some with death: Yet after all these Circumstances and pledges of my love, this base and ingrate person razed me out of her affection; forgot the debt she owed me, and which she ought to have paid to her own honour, and violently forced me (which neither honour nor reason could resist) to cause that head cut off which I had for. merly crowned. But (O heavens) can King Henry possibly consent, that the, whom he conducted to the Throne; should ascend a Scaffold to lose her head ? And that the who kept my heart foveraignly in her power, should submit and lay down the greatest Beauty in my Kingdom to be fruck off by the hand of an Executioner? Oh no, these my thoughts are terrible, the way forlorn, though the crimes are odious; the person is love. ly whom I once so honoured; and cannot be sentenced to die, but with much regret. It will be a fad spectacle to see her bathed in her own bloud whom I have so tenderly embraced; will it not be sufficient to imprison her person, who hath so wantonly abused her liberty? May not her life in a Prison afflict her, and better teach her the difference which she enjoyed in the liberty and honour of a Throne ? Will now her remorfe for her faults be to her as bitter as death, and prove a Correction severe enough? Tis true, this use may be made of her alteration: But shall I let flip or suffer to dye my former Princely resolutions? No, I know too well, that of. fended honour grows implacable; her fatisfactions are impossible, she must perish, my Injuries must have revenge; and her death must prepare my better repose, when she shall cease to be alive. Time will raze her Image out of my memory, and then I shall be more free from the passions of love Besides, the resolutions which I take, are not only the effects of revenge, but rules and reasons of Policy: For there are a sort of enemies, who either ought not to be accused, or if they be, they are not to be pardoned: And prudent Princes are obliged to consider, whether those whom they pardo:3 can be ever able to hurt and offend them. Policy teacheth them to depend more securely on their own power, then on a penitent offenders promise. And may I, in this case, regard the desires of Anne Bullen, and so diffimulate her crime, and let her pass unpunished? Or having accused and imprisoned this offendor, were it not greater policy to destroy her? When Iso much doted, and adored her, she might have found opportunity to have been malitious or desperate, to have used Poniard or Poison to my person: Perhaps she may make an escape out of Prison, and (with her Partizans) levy Arms against me in some part of my kingdom. But you will tell me that Anne is committed to an inaccessible Tower, where the Guards are as faithful and couragious as vigilant, that the is rather hated then loved of my Subjects; who never had the least approbation, but rather odium and scorn for her marriage, and therefore (probably) she may be less dangerous and offensive. Yet the Tower where she is committed, though strong, may be too weak to keep her: As for the guards, they may be suborned and corrupted. The Artifice and Inchantments of a woman, and the a Queen, and miferable, and unfortunate, are temptations too apt to provoke her to all malicious inventions, and hardly to be refifted in her fex (too inclinable to mischief and revenge:) Besides, Compassion operateth on the most obdurate hearts; And Female tears, like foft drops (constantly distilling) will in time work into tempers as hard as stones. And (I believe) it is far more easie to guard securely the wildest Tygers and most Savage Lions, then a fair and beautiful Lady: These fierce creatures are fafe if their Cages and Dens be strongly traversed with iron bars, strong dores, and locks: But a Beauty, the more she is loaded with chains, the more she moveth her Keepers and Guards to compassion: Her tears (in her afflicaion) her groans and fighs will prove no less possible to corrupt and inchant her failors, then the greatest rewards and recompences: and therefore her hopes will be fresh every day to gain her enlargment, if not from my clemency, yet from her corruptible and compassionate Guards. Besides, fince her advance to the Throne, the hath had golden opportunities to heap up vast sums of treasure; which (perhaps) she hath secretly prepared to supply her misfortunes, in case they should affault her. And 'tis true, Keys made of gold do often open iron gates; and it is to be suspected that beams of beauty, attended with fad complaints of injury, fighs and tears, promifes and prefents, may open strong dores, intoxicate vigilant Souldiers, and by female craft and subtile devises, Anne may procure her liberty, and so gain more opportunity to endeavour mischief, and raise future troubles. I know well that my people love her not, and if the could escape her Prison, she could not but with much difficulty find any succour or Azile, yet my jealousie and reason tells me, that if the people have no kind ness for her, the Grandees of my Kingdom would be glad to countenance and engage in a faction with her. And I do not think it possible, that if this perfidious and ingrate foul should address to any part of my kingdom, but that the might endanger the most faithfull of my subjects either to compassion or compartnership in some new and disloyal design against me my reign hath not been so free and calm from troubles, but that a little breath of potent malice and discontent might quickly stir up the Waves and Billows of violent Commotions. And if this fair Beauty should prostrate her self to the most loyal Governor within any Forts of my Kingdom; when he should see a Queen at his feet, with tears in her eyes, blub bering Beauty it felf, and a heart ready to break with discontent; breathing out nothing but fighs and groans, he could not possibly but be apt to believe, and then tenderly to relieve a distressed Lady; The same force and sweetness inchanting his heart, which bewitched mine. From this tenderness, kindness and respect would spring; and from that, ardent defires to serve her: And then Hope and Ambition, the two wings that support new aspirings, might transform loyalty to observation of Anne: And this error (not refisted) nor weighed in the ballance of Reason) may change a loyal Subject of Henry the eighth, into a Vassal and Slave of Anne Bullen. The confusions and ruines of Kingdoms arrive not always through the ambition of Neighbour-Princes, or through the hatred or division of the People; Fond love and violent passions have their share often in great diforders; And they who extinguish not the sparks of these fires (if the Aames

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flames grow high) are apt to put Kingdoms into as great Combustion, as the most formidable Invasions. We resolve then to take a course with this enemie; and difarming her, render her incapable not to offend us. The suborning of my Guards, and seducing my Subjects, is not only the differvice that the may prove capable to effect: for who knows (if I fuffer her to live) but that in process of time, I may grow so feeble, as to dote on that beauty, which I so much admired, and be inamoured with her; and admitting her discourse, be charmed with her Syrenian voice? And veilding a delightfulness to her company, be so transported with affection, asto forget all her Injuries and Treason, which never appeared in her coun. mance nor deceitful looks. She is still fair and lovely; and though she hath lost her prosperitie, hath guarded her beautie: and my heart bath been folong subject to her Laws, that she may have a possibility to be as great Tyrant over me as ever; and then (in that condition) what revenge might not her malice execute? Judge then (my Lord) how great would be my shame, and how odious my infamy; what my People would say, and how bisterly murmur : certainly exculing her as innocent, and condemning my felt as most Tyrannical and unjust. If I should admit of such a vicifficude, and fuffer Anne to be admitted to my company, and to return to the Throne. No, (my Lord) we resolve not to expose royal Majesty to any fuch unworthy hazard and adventure. That which I permitted and approved in my first grace and favour, is an example warranted by many illustrious Princes, and not excepted against by the most scrupulous and most vertuous Moralists. The Emperour Theodosius courted Athenais to his royal Throne, who was the daughter of an humble and grave Philosopher: This was not the first time when Beauty was crowned by the hands of Love and Fortune; yet the same Theodofius, upon a meer suspition and flight conjecture, made no difficulty to put Paulma his wife to death, whom he had loved so passionately, and to exile the Empress notwithstand. ing the appearance of her Innocency. It is so true that Purity and Chaflity are so absolutely needsary in Princes. If Theodosius then thus procoeded with his Athenau: What? may I not justifie my severest diffilea. fure against Ann Bullen, being one whose crime is notorious; and those who were her Partizans now imprisoned equally guilty? Whose crimes were as friendless as foul; and could not find an intercessor for Clemency; much less Orators and Advocates to plead for their Justification. Let us not forget then (in this re-encounter) how there ought to be no tenderness for odious offenders; and that the glory of a State ought to be the principal aim and end of Royal Asions. If this injurious and unworthy Queen had made a Faction, and publickly raised a party against me in my Kingdom, or had attempted my person openly, her crime might have been more pardonable: I might have lookt upon her as a person of greater spirit, and therefore less capable to brook the conceit of an injury; and possibly her reconciliation might have been more fafe and glorious : All subjects who make revolts (either seduced or being somenters) are not alwayes exterminated. Those who adventure in Conspiracies and (in their black deligns) aim at taking away the life of the Prince, do not alwayes periffs, there are reasons why (in some Conjunctures) crimes are wink'd at, and diffigulated, and sometimes pardoned as well as punished. But as for the ugliness of this offence, it hath not only injured the Prince, but prophaned his Throne, dishonoured Royalty, violated Divine and Humane Lawes, and by her Incest and Adultery, she hath so corrupted the Fountain that

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the streams will glide with nothing but shame and fin from age to age, to the last posterity. This is an evil which cannot be tollerated, an Ulcer to incureable, that nothing but her life and bloud (which caused it) can fatisfie: all other remedies are unferviceable, and not to be administred. In this occurrence it is agnitable that I be Judge and Accuser in the same thing: and tis as absolutely necessary that I abandon pity and forget all former affection; and close mine eyes from the rayes of that Beauty, and my ears from that Harmonious voice which so mightily had inchanted me. It is for this reason that I resolve not to look on that lovely object, whose crimes had fo foiled her former purity, that I shall raze her memory out of my heart: and (at least) by that means cause, that posterity shall not continue my shame and her offence. By all these reasons we may easily judge that the life of this unthankful creature, could neither be for my content nor honor. Besides these, there is a principal respect due to my People; which is not of an inconfiderate confequence: their importunities are for a Succeffor, a King: they fear (if I die) that they shall have a Queen to reign over them : and (notwithstanding) their ardent desires for a Prince of Wates) I beleive they are not passionate to have that Prince the son of Anne Bullen. This is another confideration of fuch Importance, as I cannot but take care to remove this invincible obstacle, intending so much the publique felicity of the People . To that it is impartially necessary that the perith to prepare a way to the Peoples greater good, and the Kings greater There is this advantage more in this design, that little or no trous ble will furvive to revenge her death. As forthose who opposed her manriage, they will not ranke themselves in Arms to fight her quarrel; and feeing Death is accustomed to difarm Beauty, that of Anne Bullen can do no more then a beam of the Sun when it is ready to fet, thine a while, and be no more feen. In fuch a drefs Sho and her Beauty will go together to the Grave, and there be buried in oblivion and duft. But what shall I fay ! I cannot but be affured that her Memory, and Image will be much in my Fancie and Presence, though the boabsent, and interred in obscurity. May I northen fear, least I should repens the Sentence, and forrow for the Exe. cution? The Policy of Hered was no less fortified then mine, and his heart no less tender; his fancie was wounded, which represented unto bim his Avianne, who was less criminal then her, of whom I have so justly complained. Notwithstanding he repented of her death, he wept, be grieved , his Fancie was ever followed with her Image, he loft all content and repose; and (at last) submitted to wish, that Death had fall on him which he executed upon her. I may then juffly fear the exposing of my felf to such a continued torment of my Fancy and Imagination ; and not rashly pronounce that sentence (which executed) is irrevokable. And vet there is a great difference and distinction betwist the proceedings of this Politician and my felf: Mariamne was not only his wife, but his Soveraign and Queen; and though he were her love and husband, yet be was her subject, and a Tyrant, and (consequently) be ought to have had more regard and remorfe, and not to have afted but with greater Wisdom, and more fage precaution: but (on the contrary) I am a King, her Love, and a husband inraged and abused, by one who was my Subject, and to whom I gave a Crown: finding then my spirit not capable to digest so great affronts, I will banish the suspicions of fear; and being a King (though a Husband) I shall take heed that I fall not into such a base and ignoble repentance. No, no, my foul is now free from the irregular passion of Love,

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and will not admit those false delusions to trouble my Fancy : Her crime bath destroyed her innocency, and her offence will more probably appear before my memory, then her Beauty to foulely stained. I shall look upon her (as I ought) without prejudice to Justice and Glory; and therefore conclude, that it is necessary the die; yet if I thould deprive her of the Crown without the retrenchment of her head, and so render her into her first condition, it may be that Love which I had once for her, might plead for the continuance of her life; but as the is a Crowned Queen, and Mother to my Daughter Elizabeth, I cannot fafely depose her from the Throne, but I must force her to her Tomb; and when she descends from the one, she must not stop till she fall into her Grave. I doubt not but posterity will be divided in their judgment in the examination of this Action: some will lay that Henry was cruel, others that he was ftout and generous; but after the variety of Censures, it is certain that Kings must act as Glory councels them; which ought to be far above, and out of the reach of Fear and Scandal. It appears then to all the world that it was not by a violent precipitation, which hatred might suggest that I have proceeded to this resolution; Jealousie did not so enrage me as to have recourse to Poison, or a Poniard; so to have dispatched this infamous Woman by mine own hand: no, if she dye, the Laws do judge her, and her own crime condemn her; and if I have contributed any thing to her fall, it is a progress without injustice or reproach, seeing that I was so passionate for her, as to choose her Mistress of my Heart, there to serve her , and in that affection my heart commanded my hand to let a Crown upon her head. These circumstances (doubtless) do declare and manifest Anne more culpable to all the World. But my first and last actions were not grounded on the same intentions . I proposed the Crown (which I bestowed upon her) should have made her glo rious not infamous; and should have inspired into her the apprehensions of a Queen, and not have rendred her a person odious and abominable a but feeing I am deceived in my Conjectures, it is just that I be punished for my error, which her beauty caused me to fall into. Clemency (on this occafion) is a vertue too indulgent, and not to be used, unless Justice were to be extruded out of dores ; and pity, in this case, were to disarmand difgrace Royal Authority. Tis true, Severity is terrible, but Indulgence and an inclination to Glemency more dangerous; when a Prince is injured, and great Estates may be destroyed by either, unleasonably practifed, and (as we fee) how the most gentle Rivers do very great mischief when they overflow their bounds, as well as imperuous and violent Torrents: So (in like manner) excessive Clemency may be as offensive as the severest Crueley. As I am not then in this action justly to be accused of too much fondness, so, nor of too much hery: for if Anne Bullen had not changed. I had been the same as I was in my espoulals, and when I solemnized her Coronation with to much honour and joy's and if the had not faln to be disloyal, the should not have found her Grave so suddainly. Now as to the two Vertues, Justice and Clemency, the first most firmly supporteth the Kings Throne, and without it the Royal Authority is shaked to nothing in an instant, and she is most effential to support the Crown and Scepter: Clemency may be sometimes called to the Councel, but the presence of Justice is more absolutely accessary. In this Act then (my Lord) admire not if I proceed as the glory and tenown of a King requires, as the Laws ordain; and with that refolution which my paffion and teafon cannot be admitted to plead against. It must be so then, that this miserable wretch

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cannot be exempted from the punishment she hath merited; she must not longer have any harbor in my heart, there being no person or Argument to intercede for her desence; her most detestable Brother hath shamefully confess his horrid crime, his companions are become his Accusers, her own conscience convinceth her, my great favours aggravate her reproaches, the memory of her prosperity doth torment her, the fear of her punishment doth cause her to tremble, the representation of her fault (so shameless and unparallel'd) covers her with consustion: what remains then, but to bring her to Execution, where she may make (if possible) reparation to mine honour: where let the ungrateful wretch have an ignominious death, and die with such disadvantage, as to have no monument in my memory, but what she has with all the World, Scorn and Hatred: let her bloud deface those Characters of Love, which were so prosoundly engraved in my soul, and (forgetting all her dalliances of Love and Beauty) let us facrifice her and them to our Honour and Renown.

The CENSURE.

S for this particular Action towards Anne Bullen, it meeteth with don. De Censures , as well of those who approve, as those who condemn and diflike the Action. As to the Parallel betwirt this Prince and Herod, and fo betwixt Mariamne and Anne Bullen, it feems not fo just and reasonables for Herod was not as Henry, a King by birth, but by Mariamnes means and favours; and as for the two Queens, Mariamne was innoceut and vertuous but Anne criminous and guilty. And therefore this violent Prince was lefs unjust (though severe) because Majesty was so offended. The Royal Bed ought to be kept as facred and inviolable as the Imperial Throne; and of the two. the first is to be attended with stricter and more vigilant Guards: as for the Scepter, it may be wrested and forced out of the Princes hand without dishonour, and it may be recovered again with advantage of greater renown : but the the Royal Bed once flained, doth not only enrage the Prince, but the People; and that injury spreadeth to a poison, which can find no Antidote: and it flainest Majefty fo deeply, as the Spot never to be mashed out. Therefore the Romans concluded, that it was not only necessary for Casars Queen to be chaft and innocent, but free from Calamny and all Censure, and above the reach of Scandal which is an inseperable companion of Suspicion. And if Julius Cafat repudiated his Queen on a bare jealouse, how intolerable is reproach and infamous frandal? much more odious then, is the crime of loofness and incontimency The only Spot that fluck on Augustus his Successor (when he was mounted far out of the reach of the cruel decrees of the Trium virate) 'twas that he espouled Livia, being she was great with shill, and after the was divorced from Drucius Nero ber husband from thence for ang that tart ralliarie among f the Romans, That all those whom Fortune favours, may have such successes as to have children within three months after marriage. Tyberius his adop ted fon and Successor to the Empire, was more fenfible of his honour, who re pudiated Julia, Augustus daughter, banished her from Rome; and baving branded her name with the mark of eternal infamy, condemned her to dye an exile, and there to bury her crime and shame. This Grand Politician well understood that all injuries to Princes are intolerable, but crimes of fuch infamy and

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and dishonour, are to be punished with the most seasonable and severest revenge: and that the least favor or mitigation to offences of this nature, are as impardonable, as odious and dangerous. There is nothing so much obscureth the Sun, as when it is eclipfed by the Moon: and the difgrace is as great as the difcontent, when a Queen is false to her Lord and Soveraign. Besides, the dangers are imminent, and consequences very fatal. The extravagant marriage of Caligula manifesteth this to all the world; who baving esponsed Cesonia, bis Court was speedily corrupted with great disorders, which introduced and brought in shameful consequences in the Government of the Empire : but if impudencie ever swelled to an excess and outcry, and that vice met with equal stupid patience to tolerate it, if not to give it countenance; it was when that immodest and vicious Messalina was the espouse and wife of dull and ignoble Claudius; during whose reign, her deportment was as lascivious and vile, as be was unworthy and altogether base. And History only takes notice of them as horrid difgraces to the times they lived in. And this was not all, Messalina dared to quit Claudius and married another, which high affront the Emperour endured: but after a long and prodigious insensibility, be awaked at last, and out Messalina to death; and so terminated her life and her dishonour. If Marcus Aurelius the Philosopher were more uxorious and kind to his wife Faustina (though she was a most irregular and extravagant woman) it is to be thought that his Philosophy was too much Stoical; and such dull stupidity besame not an Emperour, who had the Domination of the World. We may then conclude, that Henry the Eight did not act against the maxims of Policy, Ju-fice, or Reason in punishing this infamous offender, and if he gave occasion to the world to blame him for his fix marriages, and by reason of his outrages towards Churchmen, and great troubles in the change of Religion; yet in this lawful revenge: as well as in many other Acts of famous memory) he merits the testimony of honour and renown; and seeing that for his book against Luther, the Pope honoured him with the glorious title of Defensor Fidei : It is an argument that the Actions of great Kings, are not to be censured with rashness and precipitation: for they are as some eminent Stars which move in fuch a Sphere, as all the world do not perceive; and as their condition is separated and transcendent to others, so these visible Earthly Gods have their reasons and resolutions apart. Such another was that famous Prince Pepin King of France, who hath been censured and condemned, and his means and wayes reputed as unjust, and utterly unlawful to the Throne, and his reign an Usurpation: but if we will listen to the reasons which he spake for bis defence, and as an Apologie for the great change of affairs; we may (perhaps) alter our judgments, and not prejudicate Princely actions. Let us then leave the discourse of Henry the Eighth of England, and hear what Pepin pleadeth for his justification, who took the Crown of France from off the head of the last of the race of Clovis the Grand, and place that Royal Diadem on his own bead.

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King PEPIN TO THE ARCHBISHOP OF



HE Acclamations of the People were fo general and foud; then, when you annointed me and gave me the Crown as a present from the States and Grandees of the Kingdom, that those Ecchoes of joy and exultation resounded throughout all Europe, and all parts of the Earth are well satisfied that Childrick (being not longer able to support the Royal Scepter) I was imperuously constrained to take it into my hands, and forced with a kind of violence, to endeavour the preservant

vation of that Glorious and Royal, Throne; and not to suffer it to fall with shame and infamie. And yet (perhaps) many thousands are not fa-rissied with those Motives and Reasons which pressed me to those high refolutions: and it is a debate judiciously to be examined, Whether I was rather to accept, or refule the Supreme and Soveraign power of this King dom; the action not meetly reflecting upon my felf, but likewife with the effects of much good or evil on the people; and fo confequently, with glory or diffionour redundant to my felf in those mighty undertakings. In this Conjuncture, a Prince ought to be furnished with all advantages of Prudence as well as of Valour and Refolution. Those who onely judge of content by the external appearance of gliftering objects, ambitiously and rashly reach at any thing that appeareth Glorious; but an Imperial Diadem is not to be accepted, but by such great Heroes whose vertues can more illustrate a glorious Crown. We see that Infants and ignorant persons cannot gather the blushing Roses without danger of pricking their fingers with those little Thorns; which like natural Guards, wait on those scarlet flowers. me (whose Ancestors have imployed their lives to support the Throne, whereon I am feated) I am not ignorant howthat all their endeavours were intirely devoted for the preservation of the self same Crown. And I cannot but confess, that I am obliged to be as diligent and active, and so most frictly to examine my abilities in managing the high affairs of a Kingdom,

in which I shall not leave out any Circumstance that may render my self more capable, or the Throne more honourable. 'Tis true; I am not fo fornunate as Augustus, who had the friendship and councel of Mesanas and Agrippe, to advise in the danger of my weighty occasions: And yet I shall not fail to examine up, and fearch into every corner of my foul, to prefent my condition more fit for so Princely an Office; and ballance all reasons judiciously, which may either perswade me to, or remove my thoughts from the acceptance of the Royal Robe; and I shall severely scan all probable disputes that my judgment and reason may gain the greater victory: and if I have received the Crown, I doubt not but I shall make it appear that my Vertues have merited much, as well as my birth, and it is not an Addition to be fleighted, that in receiving of the Diadem, I have had fo long and fo ferious a contestation with mine own foul. You know well, the folemn dayes of Triumph are better Registred, then easily to flip out of memory; and you were then my Remembrancer, that I should declare my refentment and reasons, why I embraced the Crown; that the people as well as my felf, might more clearly understand why I became their Soveraign, and they my Subjects. To fatisfie this great curiofity (I confels) when I look upon the height of the Royal condition and quality of a King, I beheld it as those who have in their view a dangerous precipice; and I did not lightly and ambitiously so much aspire to more transcendent Eminencie; but likewise prudently consider the varieties of dangers of so high a place: and when I held the Scales of both Honour and Danger in my hands, and poiled them both together; I differend to many troubles and cares, travels, hardthips, wars, and so many secret discontents following Royalty at her heels, that through mine own contestations and debates, without farther disputes, I found it most rational to repulse the motion and proposition of the Supreme Dignitie, and beheld it as an enemy to my private repose, and no friend (probably) to my future Glory. But in a second reflection (the first notions being corrected by the latter) when I confidered that what was proposed, aimed at the conservation of a mighty Monarchy, I could not but admit my reason to farther consultation, refolying if any mistortune should arrive through my faults and errors, I should be only responsible to the great Governour of all the Universe; who requires from none an account, but of those Talents that he bestows upon them, and in this trust I resolved not to fail. I began then more closely and attentively to pursue those great affairs; but in this Commencement, I confidered with my felf, as my Grandfather Pepin, and illustrious Charls my Father, consulted with themselves: The first would never be perswaded to entertain the thoughts of Soveraigntie; and the second did re fuse it with the title of King; and would not accept of it but to be stiled The French Prince: these times and symptoms seemed to presage an alteration; and yet there was no appearance that the Subjects were willing to change their Master. Besides, for many years the Throne was not enjoyed but by Princes of more incapable and weaker judgments to reign and govern: so that from the reign of Dagobers the first, whose justice valour, and pietie, were more considerable; the Clouises, the Clotairs, the Childericks, the Theadoricks, and the Childeberts, and Dagobert himself the fecond, rendred the State into such pitiful conditions, that if the Major of the Pallace had not been found more capable to rule and govern, it had not been, but that the Kingdom had faln offiner then once into the hands of Foreigners, Strangers, or Enemies. Notwithstanding Pepin was contented

tented to serve his Master, and to obscure and support his infirmities. may be there are some who would say, that this service was for felf advantage, and to lay the foundations of his own Royal Family; but what could he do otherwise, but as a good and faithful Subject, causing Justice and Piety to flourish; and so to attribute the Renown to his Prince during his reign. But a continuation of this service was impossible; neither would the People be fatisfied, where the Prince was fo dull, and fuch errors and dishonour in the Government. It was by my means that the Duke of Fryze (that Pagan) was vanquished; and afterwards obliged to be band tized, and become Christian: that the Bishop of Utrecht was re-established whom Ebroin had chased from his Episcopal Chair; and that the Almain (on both fides the Rhein) who levied their Forces against the Crown of France, were subdued: and what endeavours were not used to keep the Ma. narchy from an utter desolation; and to restore it to its Pristine Splen. dor and Honor. And if Pepin (in all these actions) did not propose and fancie Royaltie in the fuccels of fo many atchievements; he were ingrate as well to his fortunes as to his vertues. Charls Martel was not fo confined, who (what ever be did) conceived he merited, and expected honour both from Prince and People. And yet whilft these affairs were in action the wayes and means were facile and easie to him to have mounted the Throne. And tis true that incomparable Valour accompanied with Pru. dence, Fustice, Generositie, Clemencie, Moderation, Piery, and good Success, may boldly attempt any thing: Notwithstanding some may say, that he drove a nail into the W heel of Fortune; and (maugre the Infirmity of Decebert, Clip rick, and Chiderice, (under whom he ferved) or (to speak more properly under whom he reigned) he made then a scruple to entertain and take a Scepter out of their hands, from whom God himfelf had feemed to fnatch it; having given them over to their vices and irregularities: which introduced all vileness into the Kingdom, and therefore threatned a fatal desolation. I do solemnly profess the two examples of my Grandfather and my Father had almost prevailed with me, to make me resolve to die, and lay my fortune at Childricks feet, though I saw the Throne in an apparent ruine; and if I had not been charmed from those thoughts by the importunity and universal suffrages of the people, I had certainly perished, and been buried under the Ruines of that Throne, I he injuries which I must act to my lawful Prince (though he were never so weak) and therefore less reverenced by his Subjects) did torment my thoughts, and I could not but conjecture that the end might be as miserable, as the way and means unjust and injurious; and if I attempted to ascend the Throne by the Deposing of my lawful Prince, I should not be of better reputation with the people, then an Usurper: and it is a vulgar conclusion, He who is an Usurper to his Master, cannot but be a Tyrant to his Subjects. Be. fides, the people wil then censure that all the services of Pepin my Grandfather, and Charls my Father, were nothing else but politique Arts and means to undermine the Crown; and so more easily to derive it on their posteri ty. These thoughts allayed the heat of my ambition, and retarded that violence which hurrieth most mens desires in the obtaining of Soveraign power. Besides, if I assume the Title of King, may not those hands who lift me up pull me lower then ever I was? may they not dispute against my merits and qualities as not agreeing with Princely dignity? or may they not be outragious, and charge me with ignobleness and ingratitude, and murmur at all rewards, as not proportionable to their demerits and fervice? if so many admirable

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admirable qualities are necessary for a legitimate and lawful Prince, what abilities can render a Subject fit to reign? As for those who were my equals in condition and merit, though they have carried me on their shoulders and lifted me to the Crown, they cannot but speedily repent, uniess they therefore elevated me to so high a precipice, that my fall might be more certain, more fuddain, and more dangerous: and who have been born and lived with me under the same Prince, and same Laws, (the Subjects common birth-right) how can they submit that I should be their Supreme and Head, who have been my superiors or companions? may not fuch an ambition stain the reputation of all my former services with dishonour and infidelity? and that instead of concealing or supporting the infirmities of Childrick, l'intended nothing but a direct establishment of Tyranny in Pepin. Besides all this, will not these courses give a special advantage to neighbour Princes for Invasions, and raise immortal Factions with the Grandees of this Kingdom; and would not this way foment and cherish a foreign and a civil War? and did I not by these actions provoke the whole world to an odium of me, and to devise conjurations against my life, honor, and posterity? I am not ignorant that many Sages (mentioned in Antiquity) have refused royal Crowns. And when I come to consider my felf, if I receive the Scepter, I cannot but lose the fidelity of my choicest friends, because they are not now my equals, and of friends they must be rendered flatterers, and flaves to my Fortunes; and if I shall expose my self to be seduced by their cunning Artifice, who inveagle and inviron Kings with their smooth Arguments, and so be corrupted to admit injuries and injustice: I shall but prepare every one whom I should command, to curse me with their Tongues, or strike me with their hands. Moreover seeing Princes are fubject to all errors and misfortunes in Government, I may lose my reputation, and be branded with the vices of cruelty and violence; or else be accused and thought guilty of rashness, ignorance, and impru-These consequences cannot but provoke great numbers of secret, as well as publique enemies; and ('tis oft feen) that discontents can unite all parties in the destruction of an object generally hated. These reasons may deter my resolutions from the acceptance of a Crown; which high degree is too apt, not only to raise many enemies, but to create their rage and enby to be implacable: and if subjects interpret the greatest bounty of their Prince but a debt or (perhaps) a reward too little to satisfie their expectation:how insatiable will the Subjects be in their demands from such a Prince, whom they have advanced from their own condition? They commonly conclude that Kings are but the great Treasurers of their Kingdoms, and therefore are obliged to largeness and bounty; and tis usual that a de nyal or a repulse (in the least or greatest matter) provoketh bitter mur-murings or publique outrages. Nay, they conclude that Kings are obliged (by Divine Right) to give all that they possess, and as the Ocean receiving her vast Tributes from the Inland Rivers, returneth the waters by secret passages, which break up in boiling Fountains and pearling Springs; fo they argue, Princes who receive the publique Tributes of the People, are but trusted to preserve them untill they be to be refunded and more abun. dantly paid back again. In this similitude it is observable, that although the Sea do give leave that some few Fountains do break up, and so water some places of the earth, yet she is unthankful as to the general, and leaveth many vast parts, for want of moisture, to be altogether steril and barren : and thus Princes, though they may oblige some friends and favourites with

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with the Dew and drops of their bounty; yet the many thousands of the people not relishing of their liberality, rather become their enemies then humble and obliged Subjects. In this argument what froward appreheafions will possess the People, who are too resolute to interpret a right of all things in themselves; and that their Prince, as the Sea, is obliged to return the waters more clear and fweet, which his vast power hath imbittered and rendred lefs pleafant and more unwholfome. And although I have alledged fo many reasons for my refusal of a Crown; yet these which follow, appear more of force, farther to diffwade my Refolutions: for as I am not a King, so neither am I the son of one; which I conceive as the greatest obstacle in this design: I know that I have some drops of Royal blond freaming in my veins; and (though far remote) can claim a relation of kindred to Clovis the Grand: and though I may not be fo near in bloud, yet I am not fo remote from his vertues and merit as Childerick: which confideration doth a little more suppress all scruple and niceness. But how can I dare to approve the acclamations of the People, in that which I fear and diffike in my felf? my Ambition is to thinne a cover to disguise and veil the Truth it felt; and my inquietude (in this contestation) as it is reftless in my breft, so it is unexpressible in my language; And on one fide, I fee a Throne staggering and ready to fall, a feeble and vitious Prince, who through his Vices and weakness hath shaken the foundations of a Royall Kingdome: I fee the People generally in Commotions, and the more Couragious already armed; and in their jealousies and indignation. I faw their eyes chiefly fixed and directed towards me, and all their Motions point towards my felf as the Center of Royalty, and they were great with expectation for a Soveraign and King, worthy of their obedience and so glorious a Diadem. In this Conjuncture I cannot but observe the Symptoms of a mighty change; and in those apprehensions, I must not be injurious to my own fortunes: And (on the other fide) I feel equitable intentions towards the People in the motions of mine own foul, concurring with their defires in my advance. And if in this great expectation I still supported the Debillities of my Master, I was not certain whether the prople would longer fuffer me to ferve under his name: which confideration (if not prevented) 45 it might prove a certain ruine to Childrick; might (probably) hazard mine own Person, and the Kingdom's Peace. Seeing then the disorders of his life, and his Affairs were so irregular, and caused the Grandees to grow into Factions, and the Commons to murmur; and both relolved to quit and change their Master, I cannot find, but for the Kingdoms happinels (as well as for mine own renown) to use my utmost endeavours to govern to great a Kingdom; and to to preferve it from de. solation. If we look upon the whole Universe, all Countries and King doms make up but one great body, and every particular Member is obliged to aid and affift the whole. It is thus in any one Royal Kingdom; all the Subjects are unanimoufly engaged to preferve the common good: and the Members cannot but be in confusion, and sick, if the Head be unfound; and if we confider those enormious vices of those two Princes, to whom my Grandfather Pepin, and Charls my Father did fuch eminent services; and what were the vertues of Charls and Pepin: it cannot but be confessed that our family hath most highly merited, both from King and People: and though the Deleent, and right in bloud ought to be inviolable, and not to be interrupted; yet the vices and inability of Kings may as well de. termine their reigns, as defolate and diffolve their Kingdoms : and the King

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of Kings who first adv anced Princes to reign, can, when he pleases he a period to their successors. And as to my felf, I am so well latisfied with the fayour of fortune, that as Subjects ought not to aspire to Crowns; so it agrees with my honour not to refuse such a Dignity. The vanity may be as well in him who Stoically scorneth the splendor of Glory, as in him who ambitiously gapeth after it. And History reliethus, that those who did not accept Alexanders Presents, were as deeply accused of Pride, as (if they had received them) they might have been taxed with Avarice. Secing then that I am premonified by the previlion of an univerfal desolation, that I am encouraged by the popular acclamations of the Subjects, that the people defire it, and the Kingdom is in a necessity and exigencie; I cannot but wrestle with some considerable Rights, and embrace the Sove. raignty, which is so sweet a Bair to human Ambition; and where the necessity is fo absolute, I rather resolve (though with some injustice) to ascend the Throne, then fee the Kingdom perish. And when I call to mind how this Monarchy was founded by the valour and courage of Pharamend, fo much augmented by Meroffee, and rendred to formidable by Clovis the Grand; and after fo many incomparable Princes, now ready to be ruined, and to fall into the barbarous hands of Saracens and Pagans: I am not longer amazed at my own boldness, nor can I plead against my own ambition, if I take upon me to be the Soveraign. And if Childrick must lose it, no Subject can be fitter then Pepin to wear the Crown of France; whose Ancestors (as well as himself) have so successfully ferved their Princes, and so affectionately gained the Peoples hearts. But I must yet examine, and have a scruting in the corner of mine own heart; whether I, who have been so faithful and good a subject, may not prove a Tyrannous and insufferable King, and fo may not be suspected of injury and injustice to all the People, who have undermined and been so unworthy to my own Prince. To this lanswer, The Prince ought to be as transcendent in worth above others. ashe is in place and degree; and to strip himself of all predominant passions, to love the Peoples good above his own; to do nothing injust, and not fo much as to defire his own renown, but by the noble afcents of verme . Kings ought to take pains and travail to make their Subjects repole more lecure and fweet, to undertake the dangers of War; but with no other end, But better to establish and settle a peace; and to imploy that peace, not in Riot and Luxury; but for a more exact course of Equity and Justice; and thereby to cause the kingdom to flourish, and vertues to shine and be triumphant. Likewife it is the office of Kings to try before they truft, least flatterers creep into great imployments, and indanger the Ruine of Prince and People; their power must not countenance them to be levere; nor their Plenty to be too indulgent, secure, and too much inclined to clemencie. The defires of a Throne ought to be principally for the Peoples good, and with no other defign, but for the Princes honour and renown; which as the Sun, should send light and freat communicatively over all his Domination. And he who is invefted with Majetty, ought to have none But clear and innocent intehnions, and a foul, not by affed with finister and ignoble ends; but with honourable inclinations to chastife the wicked, and to prefer and recompence vertuous and meritorious perfons. For he whose Soveraighty fets him above the Laws, ought to have a foul more fublime and spiritual, then to be tainted with the gross Lees and feculencie of low and bale things, as having wisdom, and courage to confirm these bonds of humane Society, and so not to fear or violate

those rules of peace & justice, which his own power hath formed or submitted unto. And as the Prince is to live above the reach of envy and fear, so is he not to prostitute his royal condition to Sycophants and slatterers, who are a kind of poysonous slyes, which will cause the sweetest odours and ointments quickly to stink; and if I now discerne (as being near the Throne) the breath of so much subtile poyson; what Arts and Crast will not be undertaken to deceive and delude, with golden language of Treachery and dissimulation, when I have the royal Scepter in my hand? As to this instant, I never met with any person, who dared to say to me; Accept and of the Crown. And if all persons have bin so compliant before my advancement to the Throne, how officious and obsequious will they appear, when

I have the Scepter in my hands?

In the debate of these affairs, I meet with many invincible objections to dissipade and discourage my resolutions; but fortune and my owne ambiti, on have put wings to my expectations, and kindled such a fire in my heart, as I cannot extinguish; and therefore I resolve to hazard my life, honour, and repose and abandoning fear, and suspition of dangers or dishonour, determine to accept the Crown, and wear the royal Robes; so to commend my felf and successes to the favours of fortune: Those who are in the peril of naufrage, and to be shipwrackt in these tempestuous times, will be well pleas'd if by working at the helm, I preserve them from perishing in the angry waves: and if I be not so happy as to deliver them from danger, they will honour me for my adventures and endeavours. And if it so happen and fall out, that my reign be more prosperous, then the irregular Government of Childerick, I shall be esteemed more innocent as well as more renowned; and those who have been my equals, will more contentedly become my humble and loyal Subjects; as for Competitours and Rivals in my fortune (if any) as I am able to step a degree before them, so I shall be more enabled (in that quality) to curb their infolency, or chaffife their discontents: though the action be not justifiable, yet successful events may render it noble and honourable in the reputation of the world; and if the posterity of Pepin degenerate, grow effeminate, foolish and base, yet Pepin will be commended for his high attempts; and the weakness and misgovernment of Childerick and his Ancestors, will be a step to mount Pepin's honour to a higher estimation in all the Universe. It is true, I see not such Princely indowments in Charles my ion, as to merit to wear a Crown, (though his natural parts are tolerable) and it will prove a greater task for Charles to follow Pepin, then for Pepin to follow Childerick; but who knows whether Pepin may not so deeply plant the foundations of respect. in his subjects hearts, as not onely to reign himself, but to make fair way for Charles to be his successour; and if he improve not himself by his vertues and merits, nor cannot winn their suffrages; it is not inglorious for Pepin to be a King, though his fon succeed him not: and yet I doubt not but to be able to remove that difficulty; for when I find my felf to grow old or indisposed, I shall surrender the Crown to Charles, and his possession of so royal a fortune will (probably) raise him strength and forces to support his Soveraingty; and when I am not fit to march in the field, I shall become his Councellor for the better conduct of his great affairs; and nowif by deposing an unworthy and luxurious Prince, I be ranked amongst the usurpers of Crowns, the dishonour is the less, because the Kingdome required an alteration, and I cannot but reign with more security and less hatred. And if I have ascended by an usurpation, yet it was effected with-

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ont a war, or violence, or caufing a defolation to the Kingdome: And if thar amond founded the Monarchy, and Meroije enlarged the domination, and Clovis demolished the Idol-Altars; yet I shall be renowned for the protection of justice, innocency and vertue, and for the abandoning of the distructive vices of a luxurious Court and Kingdome. I propose these glorious designes to my self, which cannot but make my renown as immortal as that of the Cefars, when the subjects shall confess, that Pepin doth not only reign but gloriously, and that he is not so much feared as loyed, and that he did not ambitiously mount himself, but that the people paffionately carryed and lifted him up to the throne of Childericke; and that it was not Pepin that made himself a King, but that the weakness of unworthy Princes, the milgovernment & mileries of their reign, the services of Pepin's Ancestors, the suffrages of the People, together with Pepins owne vertues, and the will of Heaven, let the Crown on Pepins head: ice (Sage Prelate) what were Pepins thoughts before he held the Royal Scepter, what were his resolutions when he sate on the Throne, and what he would have the world to think of him, when he had descended to his Tombe. nustino la gerthen be florent. The Alfricas, bushas, Greeks, Pertal one self to a conference greek, and tour oicifered a sufrett was that he

The CENSURE.

How strong soever the Arguments, and reasons of Pepin may appear, yet the effects of his intentions will prove better warrants for his actions, then his alegations & discourse for to get a Crown to which none ought to dare to aspire, but he who is a man after Gods own heart; as it was Davids case, in deposing of wicked Saul The Priviledges of a royal birth are attended with somany difficulties, that who foever overcomes them cannot but be more then an extraordinary perfon. Tis true, the people are mutable and given to change, and voluntarily to feek new Masters, their judgement is not so profound, as to foresee what they usually lose by those alterations; a capricious angry wantonness quickly armeth them against their ancient Kings, but commonly they fight for others and not for themselves; and under the pretence of gaining greater privi-ledges, like Flyes in the Spiders web, are more intangled: and as for Princes, who have surreptitiously gained the Crown of others, it is impossible but that they must have as great dangers in the injoyment of them, as they had difficulties in afcending to them; for a Royal Scepter is onely supported by his hand, who measureth the earth, and weigheth the mountains in the Scales, without whose Providence a certain ruine is inevitable. New Princes cannot but disoblige new subjects, whether they are of the civil or martial garbe and order; the Souldiers are necessary to watch and guard to keep out fear and dangers; and their humours are generally very insolent, and not satisfied with common rewards, and therefore will be apt to murmur and grow mutinous; the civil part of the people will cry out as oppressed with new taxations, which are the necessary consequences of war, and therefore will incline to be seditious. Thus new dominations bring along with them the traine of miferable and provocative effects. A great Politician said (long since) that a Prince usurping a Throne, maketh all whom he injureth to be his enemies, and he is hardly able to preferve an amity even with those who have advanced him to the Throne, because their expelation is insatiable; and as for to use violent remedyes, it is impossible

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where his suspitions are so many, and his obligations so great. Subjects are an to frown and murmur to fee him who was once their equal, fo highly elevated above them; and talthough superiority have been the commencement of Monarchies long since, and are of a Divine foundation) yet to interrupt or suppress a royal impage, cannot be undertaken without the fear of as much danger as dishonour: And whereas Pepin and Hugh Capet (being so highly born, and so great Generals) were so hardy and bold; It is to be conjectu.
red, that they had rather an inspiration then ambition, whereby to follow the decrees of Heaven; and fo free from common vanity, they rather referred them selves to divine providence, then to an undiscreet defire to raign. The Royal Throne is fo far above the fortune of a private per [on, that he who admitteth that ambitious indifcreet designe to be predominant in his foul, doth but gripe at Thrones, walk on a precipice, strives against the stream; and al. though be sail with the breath of fortune, and more violently for the present yet his obstacles are so many and so certain, that the foundations of a Crown ex ceeds Hercules labours, and under whose weight the greatest Hero is apt to ly down, and to be ground to powder. Atilla, who was stiled the Rod of God, as bad he was, may teach us that all Power comes from God, and that it continueth no longer then he pleafeth. The Affyrians, Persians, Greeks, Parthians, and Romans have reigned, and their vicissitudes instruct us, that he who never changeth, caufeth an alteration of all things elfe according to bu pleasure; and these great mutations arive for reasons unrevealed to us, and that God alone foreseeth all things who is invisible; let us then adore, on such occasions, whom we cannot comprehend: and seeing that we guide not the Helm of the great wessel of providence, let us adore and honour him who ru-leth all things: It is he who purteth the mighty from their seat, and exalteth the humble and meck. These alterations facceed in Empires and Kingdomes: and we may conclude that greater bodies (when God is pleased to permit it) have their revolutions and changes, as well as the least and smallest Creatures. Non the discourse changeth to Tamberlane the Emperour of the Tarrars, who fo tormented and ill treated BajaZet; which History acquainteth us with a more visible certainty of this truth, That God will have the proud humbled, and the humble exalted. they after help by chefo alterations are precious, are a war

armeth their against their is escat Kines, bus commone they fight for eiters, and not for themselves you winder its respect of you may greater overed ledges, the Flyes in the Soid we web are more introducted and as some firm times

who have a registionly a seed the Corner orners. It is impossed to the

herbigili no biji in dezirini irin in berbia. Irin irindikiris bir dhyushle ta prefirron amity ericki no khikali irin adiletta adirini irindini ta eng ilberini. Irin generali kanan derima erian arin edileti ili irin adilak for eng erindenti, konediksi, kika ingenerali

out whole Providence were six raine is a centrable. Here Privas caring

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TAMERIANE Emperour of Tartarie called the wrath of God and terrour of the World, He overthrew and tooke prisoner BAIAZET Greate Emperour of turks, shutting him up in an Iron Cage: His Army consisting of 100 000 ment. He also Conquered Mesepotamia. Babilon, with the Kingdome of Persta. He died 1402

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TAMBERLANE

EMPEROR OF THE

TARTARS,

TO

AXALLA

HIS

LIEVT GENERAL



OU have effected such noble Atchievments under my Standard Royal, or
(to speak ingeniously) I have gained
so much by your proper valour, that
I cannot but be much amazed, that
you who have been so great an instrument of my Glory, and so free a sharer in all my successes and triumphs,
have not been so friendly as to take
notice of me in my proceedings; and
so to tax me of less judgment, who
have sometimes been so extremely severe and rigorous, and sometimes so

excessively merciful and indusgent. You might justly demand from me, what reasons persuaded me to imprison BajaZes within an iron Cage; and (at that time) to be so gentle to his sons, as not to inchain nor confine them, but to give them their Liberty, and treat an Emperor as a common Slave; notwithstanding I so frankly remitted all those Prisoners and Slaves which I took at Caramania. I answer, (Axalla) you have been my General, my Companion, and my Friend; yet you have not so deeply sounded and fathomed the bottom of my heart, as to prie into the secrets of all my Councels and Resolves: and therefore your admiration may be the greater, not discerning the cause and reasons of such contrarieties, which supon several circumstances) forced me to such extremities, and either to be volently severe, or most abundantly merciful. It is true you may wonder that I treated a Captive Prince with as much rigour, as if he had been the meanest Vassal; (and, you may say) that the Conquerour is obliged to respect the qualities of his Prisoners; and so ought to use personages of highest condition,

though enemies) with honour and civility. I answer, I have not (in this occasion) acted with Capricious levitie, nor malicious cruelty : as for my clemencie and severitie, they are not certain rules of my prudence and policie; I regard neither hatred nor pity to my actions; Reason alone is my guide, which teacheth me to give punishment, pardon, or promotion, as I shall judge fit. And Reason alone which caused me to chain and imprison BajaZet, directed me to fet the Prisoners and Slaves at Liberty. But perhaps you will fay those that are born in a Country where there is little learning, are less civil, and have not much veneration any where, and their policie is but rude and favage; which though it inviteth them to approve their own actions, and that which their passion doth inspire : but such proceedings relish neither of honour nor equity. I must confess (Axalla) that part of E wrope (where you were bred) hath a great advantage for education in relation to those colder Climates; for Genoa is in Italy, and Italy is (at this day) what Greece-was in ancient times, the Mother of Sciences, and Fountain of Learning: yet it is true, that I am not altogether ignorant of the Royal Science which teacheth Princes to reign with Justice, or to punish without Cruelty, and to pardon without weakness and fear; and so to act the one or the other, as it shall tend more to mine advantage, or mine ho-Policie (without doubt) is a thing which may be learned from books. but Experience is a more certain Mistress, and teacheth her Schollers more ef-fectually. Now to perswade you to believe what I say, as a matter not falling out by meer chance, but by ferious and laborious studies; I must put you in mind that this insolent and proud Prince Bajazet, was sometimes called the Shepherd, by a tart Ralliane; because of those abundant of flocks of theep which he fed in his Country, a condition not agreeing with the royalty of his birth. Yes (Axalla) you cannot but remember, how at the age of fifteen, the King of Sachatay my Father, gave me a Kingdom to go, vern; and when I was but fixteen, I undertoke the management of the Wars against the Muscovites; who when they were ranged in Battalia, were forced to yeild, and I flew no less then forty thousand of mine enemies: and that memorable day reduced them to be my tributaries. After that you know how the grave Cham of Tartary mine Uncle, caused me to espoul his daughter, and thought me not unworthy to be his Successor : notwithstanding in my absence ambitious Calix aspired to the Empire; and know ing me (to be at such a distance) leavied Arms, and drew into his parties the people of Catay; but after this injury, I had the good fortune to vanquith this enemy, and eake him Prisoner; and in conclusion, resolving that his crimes should not be unrevenged, I drenched his rebellion in his bloud, and caused him to lose his head, thus to fix more securely the Crown upon mine own : and I refolved then not to pardon, left I should have lost my felf. (Axalla) you are not ignorant when I waged War against the King of China, how at last I made my felf Master of that long and prodigious Wall, which the Chinaists had credted to separate themselvs insocially from the Tartars: how I foiced the Towns of Paquinfon, of Paquinobu, of Teanchenoy, and of Pannihu; and that I gave him three great battails and loft none. In the last battail I made him my Prisoner, and in this success finding that the practice of generofity would not be dangerous; I made a notable example of my Clemencie, and restored to him his Kingdom, and his Liberty; contenting my felf with a moderate tribute, as a tellimony and memory to my victories. Since this effect (most generous Axalla, whom I equally honour as my felf) you know that it was through your prayers and

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Councels, that I condescended to grant those succors and auxiliaries to the Emperor of Greece, to enable him to relift the injust invasion of cruel Bajazet, from that Prince (I lay) who gloried in the renunciation of all humanity, and concluded that Soveraignty was given to Kings for no other end, but to practice the highest injustice and cruelty, without all impunity; who was as well pleased to fluce out the bloud of the Mahome. tans, as the Christians, and loved more to see Innocencie suffer, then to punish Vice: Whose ambition was such, as not limited with any bounds, of either Reason, Religion, Alliance with neighbours, or any other fort of humane Rights; and whose cruelty was so implacable, as not satisfied with revenge and bloud, though it were of his own brothers, or dearest friends. This (Axalla) is that enemy which you councelled me to encounter, and to give protection to the Emperour of the Greeks; you aided me in the fight, when I vanquished and made him prisoner; but I profess solemnly, you were not of my Counsel to have him fettered and bound in chains; you were privy to that secret, when the Greek Emperor (of whom I spake and relieved on your interest) conceiving himself obliged to my protection, fent to me the offer of his Empire, how that I refused it. You know at the same time, when I imprisoned Bajazet, I delivered and set free Despete de Servia, without so much as ransome, whom I took in the fame Battail; and how I treated the children of BajaZet with kindness and honor, and that the Mahometans and Christians were equally satisfied in me, as to their present condition. Besides all this, you remember how I revenged my felf on the Sultan of Egypt, who affifted Bajazet, and having almost intirely conquered the Ottoman Empire, how I took in Damascus, Damietta, Alexandria, Grand Caire, and the most considerable places of his Estate; and having been victorious in two Royal Battails, I forced him and his feattered Troops to flye, resolving to give him neither Truce nor Peace, nor a Cessation of Arms: you cannot likewise but remember that Arabia Felix, and a part of Affrica, having voluntarily submitted to me as I marched, how I treated them with all sweetness possible, and how the Persians resisting, I combated with them, beat, and subdued them; and having couquered the infolent numbers of that Grand Empire, I subjugated to my power all the Glanture, and all the Tampestan; and having mastered the great Town of Tauris, I placed you my Lieutenant General there, as my Vice Roy in those parts; (and to your greater aftonishment yet) passing by the Ardevel, on my return to Semarcant with an infinite number of Slaves of Caramania, and of all the vicine Nations; you cannot but recal to your thoughts how that Cheqfapy, a person of great vertue (whom I honoured with a visit) begging liberty for all his Slaves, I accorded without repugnancie, consenting with much joy, conceiving it just not to refuse his request, who was so noble to ask so much for others, and so little or nothing for himself. After all this experience of War, Conquest, and Success; you cannot (faithful Axalla) but conclude that I have gained the Art and Science how to reign and rule; and that my reasons are valid and strong for the variety of my different Conduct in fuch great Affairs; and if I have pardoned humble Slaves, and punished a most superb and insolent Emperour, I have learned this way of Policie in the head of my Army, and from the impetuofity of mine enemies, that it is most proper for Majestie to humble the proud, and pardon the submiss. This practice is not only necessary in the times of War, but in the times of Peace; a Rule to be observed at all times and all places. Lawful Princes

ought to regard this qualification; and as for Usurpers, they cannot reign without it, this being a means to stop the rage of Civil Wars, and more promptly to conclude foreign Invations. By this way Justice will flourish and refift a greater inundation of popular vices; and this will make Kings as well feared as loved. Yes (noble Axalla) the just mixture of sweetness and feverity is the fecret, which renders Royalty more formidable and less hateful : for a Prince who alwayes is inexorable, imprinteth nothing but fear and terror into his Subjects: and he who is too meek and mild, doth with pardons and familiarity more easily provoke disloyalty and disobedience, Wherefore a prudent Prince with these two qualities, will keep the world in suspense, and make them alwayes serve his present purpose, without rashly falling into either extremity. It is not fit that any person who is proud should not be corrected by the chastisements of Royal Power; and those who are penitent and cordially humbled, should not be cherished with the hopes of a gracious remission: In this case Kings ought to imitate Thunderbolts, which pass by humble shrubs, but shatter audacious and proud Oaks, whose high tops aspire to touch the Clouds. The Lion could not have merited that glorious quality as to be stilled the King of Beasts, but because he exerciseth his fury against the most insolent creatures : he soo. ner passes by the feeble and gentle Lamb, then the force and fierceness of Buls, and the rage of Tygers. Those Princes who would conserve their Estates in better security, cannot find a more certain way then by their circumspection towards the Grandees of their Kingdom, and to see that they approach not so near to the Throne, as to have but one step more to ascend, and fo to mount to Majestie. A wise King will alwayes keep as great a distance between him and his Lords', as they are to make between them and the people, if they intend to preserve their honour: if the Prince intend a fuper-elevation to any of his Subjects, his fore-fight of their humility ought to be the first step to their advancement; or if they be too superb and haughty, their pride is to be punished with severity and vindicative juflice, that their difgrace might teach them more humble obedience. Now if this Maxim be necessary for a Prince, who is contented with the inheri. tance of his Ancestors, and there to govern his Subjects in Tranquility; it is much more important to him who defires to enlarge his Territories, and is ambitious to add Victories, Triumphs, and Conquests to the Atchievements of his Ancestors. For if a Prince in Battalia kill the General, he is in great possibilitie to be Conquerour; and it arrives very rarely that fortune admitteth these to triumph, whose General and Head she hath suffered to be taken away: Thus if a Prince affault the Capital City of a Kingdom, and chance to become Master; all inferiour Towns (probably) render themselves with greater facility. It is then most certainly true, that it tendeth to greatest advantage to encounter with objects of greatest diffi-When an Army marcheth through an Enemies Country, It stayes culty. not before every Town and Village of less importance, but rather advanceth to fuch a place that may be worthy, or recompence a fiege: and when the taking in of one Town may be an occasion to reduce an hundred. which I said before of War and Justice in general, I may now say of the reputation of Princes in particular: it is from the head, the highest and most noble part whereon the fortune, felicity, and glory of Kings depends. It may be if I had not taken off the head of Calix feafonably, who infolently revolted against me; that sole Traitor might have proved an invincible obstacle to my defigns. It might have fallen out then, that I might not have been King

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King of Sachetay, nor have commanded the Tarters, nor have defeated Bazajet; I might possibly not have vanquished so great a part of Egypt, nor so mightily have subdued Person; and if I had not been successful in the Protection of the Grecian Emperor (perhaps) I might have been a vasfall to him whom I have confined to his Chaines. Do not admire then (brave Axalla) if I do not pardon the infolency of Bajaxet; my feverity in this grand example, cannot but make my Conquest more glorious and renowned: you know that this Prince was not onely in the view of all the earth, but likewife in his Reign was the terrour of all the universe; what a noise then shall his chaines make to all the world? what fecurity and advantage may not all men hope to themselves. by the imprisonment of this horrid Monster ? Those whom he so ill treat. ed under his tirumphant and victorious Banners, will accompt themselves eternally obliged to me, that I have chastised their enemy and taken revenge on him, from whom they had received so many evils: those who are yet mine enemies, will cease to be severe in their designes against me, least they draw that upon their owne heads, which Bajazet contracted on his, by his unparalleled cruelties: To conculde, I am well affured, if I hould admit the suffrages of all men into deliberation with me, I should finde that none would plead for his ease or a relaxation, but rather an augmentation of his shame and punishment, and to dispatch away his life with the most exquisite tortures. (Besides) in the abasing of the proud, two confiderable effects succeed; the one in causing a smal number of criminous persons to suffer, proveth the means to preserve infinite multitudes; who ether cease to be malicious, or prevent themselves to be offenders. A second advantage is, that in the remission of an injury, to those who humbly repent, much glory is gained without any danger: for as in the multitudes of men, greater numbers are more fearful then hardy and audacious; fo many thouand mouths will be quickly open to praise the clemency of the Prince; when perhaps one or some few malicious discontents, will murmur and repine against his severity: to give you an example, these great numbers of flaves, whom I have fet at liberty, and who are now on their return to their feveral Provinces, are gone to gain me the hearts of their fellow Citizens, and so to establish my conquests by their promulgations of my celmency; where (on the contrary) BajaZet alone, being more unfortunate, will scarce have any companion to joyn with him in complaints: thus confequently, I have not acted against reason, when I commanded the Prison gates to be set wide open for the Slaves of Caramania; and (at the same time) commanded stronger Bars of Iron to confine and Cage up Bajazet: the infolency of a revolted subject is ever insupportable, the same is as equally difficult in a proud enemy, who hath his arms in his hand; but if that insolency be exorbitant in a yanquisht enemy, he deferveth the highest punition; if it be not permitted for one in Triumph to vapor and infult over those, whom he hath surmounted; how intollerable then think you is the violent precofity of a Prisoner of warr, who holds his life from him who hath made him his Captive, which he can take away at his pleasure. No, no, (Axalla) constancy of courage, and insolency of pride are not the same things; It may well become prisoners of warr, to carry their Irons with nobleness of mind, and not to lose their hearts, though they have lost the victory: Martial discipline never permitted a lessening of that respect, which the Captive oweth the Conquerour, and to retort upon him with reproach and injury is a higher crime; a Conquerour may justly reflect upon hi nielt **feated**

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scated in the Chair of Majesty and Tryumph, whilst Captives and Prisoners are to follow the royal Train with humble looks, and misfortunate Comportments: fo that it is not allowed for any Captive (though never fo great) to act as did infolent BajaZet; whose Pride was as vainly eleva ted, as his fortune miserably abased. The King of China, whom I read mitted to his Crown and Kingdome, acted nothing (after his misfortunes) un worthy of his royal condition: as he was not base, he was not proud and insolent; when he treated with Tamberlane, he spake with boldness and generofity, yet not hercely, or impudently without respect, he did nothing unlike a King, nor any thing that exceeded the fortune of his prefent quality; therefore I had reason to treat him otherwise then Bajaget: and I am to be more honoured, if I have been indulgent to the one, and not to the other. What do you think, would not this Tyger have attempted in his rage, if he should have been loosed from his Chains? he would certainly first have adventured to have torn him in pieces who gave him his liberty (if he had power) and railing equally against all men (would, if he were able) become the publick Enemy of the Universe: He would tell the world his Subjects had betrayed him, that his Souldiers had forfaken him, that his Enemies had evilly treated him : thus resuming his Scepter in rage and malice, he would have defigned a defolation to all the earth, or (at least) would have sought the means. (No, no, Axalla) he who will not be a good Prince (shall being a Captive) whether he will or no. become a real Slave, without hopes to return to a Throne of Majesty: of which cruelty hath rendered him unworthy, and made him more fit to carry Chains and Irons. Clemency, on this occasion, might introduce too many dangers, and the interest of so many people concern'd, is not inconfiderately to be paffed over. Severity to Bajazet is more necessary then royal Civility, to make Ba7 ajet to see the ugliness of his owne vices (and if possible) to cause an alteration in his savage humors. Besides, who may not expect Pardon, if BajaZet should escape with any grace or lenity; he who is the curse and execration of all the world (and who, though vanquished) speaks and acts such things as are able to enflame the most calm and gentle foul with rage and fury. As for the flaves I pardoned they were not capital, but subordinate enemies, ingaged in a party who were against me; perhaps those men in their private condition quietly disposed, and unwilling and incapable voluntarily to offend; and confequently such persons were proper objects for a Princes Clemency: fuch an action as this carries along with it the presence of splendour and honour; nay there is a kind of equity which pleadeth pardon for those who humbly begg for Clemen. cy, and policy is not against the proceedings, if it foresee not peril and danger in the consequence. The true bounds which are to be given to clemency or severity, are to be measured and examined by the rule of justice; and she is to be observed how far she suffers the one or the other to appear: some crimes are so horrid, as justice will not allow them to pass unpunished; as the will not admit vertues to be deprived of their reward and recompence. Now in this confideration, we ought to judge whether Clemency may be of more difadvantage, or feverity more ferviceable; so differning whether to imploy and exercise the one or the other, thus guided to undertake nothing but for the publick interest or soveraign glory. The chiefest mark and note of majefty is, the loyal submission of subjects, and the highest mark of victory is, the humble prostration of the vanquished, who do not onely cast downe their arms, but their lives and liberties at the Conque-

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rours feet; whereas on the contrary, those who oppose the divine Charader of Princes in their Soveraignty, are born up with the excess of Pride and Arrogancie: and that provocation is more intolerable which springeth from the infolencie of a Captive, then from the defiance of an enemy. Be not then longer aftonished (Axalla) if you have observed me, fometimes fo gracious, and at other times fo levere; but be perfivaded that I have ever been guided by the hand of Reason, I have pardoned where I could, and not prejudiced the advancement of my Conquests; I have been inflexible, and not to be moved, when I foresaw that my (lemencie might not only prove unjust, but dangerous; either as to the peoples good, or to my own defigns. It is an observation in Nature, that the opposeth those things that do resist her, and gently yellds to those things which courteously offer place; so then from the simple motions of nature we cannot but accord to that which is here afferted. with me (Axalla in this Conclusion, and fay, That whoever considereth the person of BajaZet, that then cruelty her self ceased to be cruelty; and that it is true that his humour was insupportable, bloudy, insolent, and unnatural, and therefore merited least compassion; it was then a judicious refolution to detain him within bars of iron, whom reason could not perswade nor be predominant with. To these resolutions, let us perpetuate a continuation, so not think it irrational to pardon chearfully those who humbly submit to our power, and to punish with severity those whom neither misfortunes, nor captivity can reduce to a submission. Let not our pardons be granted out of fear and feeblenes, and let not our chastisements be provoked through preoccupation and hatred. Thus to wind up the clew of this discourse, let us resolve neither to pardon nor punish, but when reason shall conduct us for the ends of the peoples greater good, or the Princes more illustrious renown.

The CENSURE.

Nger is a passion which reigneth too much in every brest, but principally A most with Kings, who are so high that they ought to be above those storms and tempests which are condensed and formed in the middle Region of the air; as Princes surmount all others in their titles, so they ought to transcend them in their vertues, so to be less transported with the heat of passion. He who in: vented the fable of Minerva, who broke her Pipe or Ho-boy, when she saw her visage in the Crystal Fountain; doth tell us that beholding her cheeks puffed and swelled, (which caused her deformity and ugliness) prudently brake that instrument which disfigured her beauty, and so changed her countenance. This pretty Story represents that great change and alteration which untamed passion transmitteth suddenly into the soul, which if she be wife) she presently abandoneth, and on the fight of the deformity, avoideth or suppresset more care-In effect, those people who cansed their children to look on their slaves. when they were debauched and drunken, to imprint into them the horror of that ugly vice, did likewise canse them to look on their slaves in their rage and choler, to make them apprehend more perfectly the deformities of passion, and so to cause in them a greater caution and detestation of such vicious infirmities. Such a humor confistent of Sulphur and Salt peter, becomes not a prudent foul; wor is to converse with a sage and rational Man. Xerxes who threatned to set bounds to the Sea, and level the Mountains (if they did not facilitate a

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passage to his Army) appeared to all the World more ridiculous then formidable in the extravagancie of his passion. Hippocrates (the Prince of Physitians) saith, That it is a fignal token of a great Malady to see the counternance much altered; and to this purpose Plutarch used these words, that before a man go out of the Bath he ought to behold himself in a glass; if he blush at his nakedness when he hath parted with his cloathes; how ought he to be ashamed at his passions, when he hath parted with his reason. But after all these vertues and vices though they have some near resemblances, are not to be rudely mixed in confusion. Those who are valiant are not to be esteemed rash, nor those who are liberal profuse and prodigal, nor those who are severe utterly unjust and cruel. We read that Nemesis and Adrastia were as well Deities as Jupiter, and that necessity as well required Goddesses of revenge, as of power and patronage; it is true, that suffice as well as Clemency is a Divine Attributes, and that the one as well as the other is necessary for Kings, who present on earth

the Image of God.

When Alexander asked Porus his generous Prisoner bow he would treat him if Alexander could be unfortunate: Porus answered be would treat him like a King. Thus did Tamberlane yeild to the shining Sun, when no blustring Tempest could bend his inclinations. It is true, as Sophocles faith in his Tragedy of Antigone, That Reason and Understanding hardly dwell with men in mifery, or at least bears not company so much with them in their misfortunes; for though men be fage and front in their prosperity, yet adversity is able to diminish and weaken their best abilities. It is Seneca, who speaketh in his Epistles, that he is a perfect good man whom no accident can render evil. And the fame Author faith in his Book De Ira, That Vertue ought never to have recourse to Vice. In his second Book De Clementia, That a Wife man ought alwayes to act as intending the common good of all men. And from all these instances we may conclude, that (on several occasions) to punish and to pardon are equally necessary. A Prince is to proceed in his great affairs as a skilful Musician with his different Notes; which (according to the Air) he changeth at pleasure, high or low, to briefs, longs, or flats, providing that all alterations intend to effect better harmony, and a freeter composure in the Government of the Estate: thus the proceedings of Tamberlane are more justifiable, and the severe punishments he inflicted on Bajazet were chastisements becoming his infolency, who so imprudently and outragiously provoked fo triumphant a Conqueror. Hence we learn that the examples of extreme severity and clemency may in their seasons be equally important in the affairs of Princes. She who in the Scripture is stiled fair as the Moon, and bright as the Sun, is immediately termed terrible as an Army with Banners. Words which instruct Kings to have alwayes the two Royal Supporters of Clemency and Fustice to bear up their Throne; these great vertues are not to be abused with Passion, but to be guided by reason in all their actions. And now we are from Tartary returned to France, where we may fee Hugh Capet, who after he had abrogated the office of the Major of the Pallace, constituted the high trust and dignity of the Constable of France, which is a degree that so nearly approacheth to Soveraignty it felf. Here follow the reasons of his resolutions in a matter of so high concernment. This Hugh was the first and chief of the third race of the Kings of France.

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Do not doubt but that the high defign, I have in hand, doth much aftonish you, and that after my discharge of the Major of the Pallace (which office I have suppressed) yet thought it not fit to conferr that place on my son, thereby to remove all pretention and expectation from the Grandees of my Kingdom, in the management and disposal of my affairs, that I have created the Authority, and Office of the Constable of France; which is a degree and quality wherein a Subject

feems to approach exceeding close and near to Soveraignty it self. Perhaps some may say, that in the Creation of this Supreme Officer, my hand is tired, and that I am not longer able to sway and support my Royal Scepter; or that my elevation to the Throne hath fo ravished my sense and reafon with the splendour of Majesty, that I cannot rule without some immediate affiftance; and that because I judged the Majors of the Pallace (in their office) to be less glorious to their Prince; therefore I caused a suppression of that more intolerable Authority, which so much usurped over the royal quality of some of my Ancestors in their weaker abilities, who did precede famous Pepin; and in which office I gained fo much honour and power under Lewis the fifth. But this suppression of the Major of the Pallace did not utterly remove my thoughts from all approbation of one to be advanced to more fignal and high trust: For as the vertues of the Subjects are great advancers of vertues and worth in their Prince; so are the wisdom and parts of a prudent Councellor or chief Minister of State, of an absolute necessity for the more glorious transaction of the illustrious affairs of Kings. From these considerations, I wish that the Kings of France may. not be without an eternal Competitor, whose abilities may heighten and

advance

advance their Prince to more glorious endeavours; thereby to incline the Revolution of their Crown towards their children, or (if they should be incapable) towards themselves. This Emulation in a Subject (springing from nothing but true renown) cannot but make the Prince and the Royal Family more industrious and diligent, the better to execute the Royal Function: and though I create an Office and Order of an high and great truft, yet I doubt not, but with good success; and presume that hand of Provi. dence which hath established this Throne (although sometimes possessed by personages of greater weakness) will still continue his protection, man gre the malice of all enemies whomsoever. Now to satisfie the world that I act not without reason, I must let you know that Royalty (which is the first and Primum Mobile in an Estate or Kingdom) ought to be fortified and coroborated with some vicine and near affistance; into which the Prince may infuse and impart his pleasure and power: and that effected, there may fucceed an activity and influence to cause a communication to all inferior and subordinate orbs and motions to facilitate the Government of greater affairs. An eminent person or Prince of quality nearly approaching to the condition of his Soveraign, is so necessary, as without the Councels and affiftance of a chief Minister of State it is almost impossible to enjoy or see a prosperous Reign in the Negotiations of so great The glorious body of the bright Sun cannot (at the same instant) communicate his beams, and be radiant to all cantons and corners of the earth; and if the Sun did not participate his lumination to the inferior Stars, the Semicircle and Moiety of the World would ever be enveloped in obscuritie and darkness. Thus it is not possible for a Prince to Regulate and honourably Govern his Estate without a communication of his power, being as the Sun, to radiate and shine over all the parts of his Kingdom at the fame time. And as it is with God, fo it is with Princes, who bear his Image; the Divine power doth operate by second and subordinate causes in the Government of the Universe; where so many different concurrences do meet, and a Kingdom (being a valt Body) where fo many varieties of differting affairs do convene. A Prince cannot effectually operate in them all without a participation of his trust and power to some noble and faithful affistant. Besides, a Prince is to the Body Politique and Kingdom, what the Soul is in the Body Natural; and the chief Minister of State, is to be as the most noble, chiefest part and organ to convey his Princes royal pleasure with more ease and honour into all the inferior parts and members. Thus who foever observes accurately, and considers judiciously the office and obligations of supreme Power, must rationally conclude, that Kings are not only above their subjects in honor and dignity, but in their pains and cares:not only conducting their affairs, but protecting their persons, directing their people how to enrich themselvs; governing and guarding their lives and fortunes from foreign as wel as from unnatural and civil wars. It belongeth to the Princes care to pardon as well as to punish; to see that Piety and Peace may prosper, and that Justice flourish. The least of these duties is (almost) a burden too insupportable for the st oulders of any one, (though never so wel qualified.) Therfore for a more happy tranquility, publick welfare and repose, such a creature is absolutely necessary, in whose person his Prince may confide; who transferring a great share of weighty affairs to his transaction and abilities, the Prince may rule with more honour, and the people enjoy more publique advantages. But as a chief Minister may be serviceable to the State, so it infinitely concerneth the

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the Prince to be discreet and most judicious in his choice: the most noble and fagest of the Subjects best meriteth to be elevated and called to his Royal Dignity and Trust. For it is certain the Prince very plainly prefageth the success and prosperity of his affairs and Government, by his election and choice of his chief Councellor and Minister of State: who, if of greater worth, vertue, and illustrious qualities, doth more dignifie his Master, and better gratifie and content his Subjects. But this care is ever to be used, that the Prince preserve his distance, lest his Ministers grow too infolent, which might endanger to lessen the splendor of Majesty, or occafion injury and injustice towards the people. 'Twas for this reason why I resolved to remove and discharge the Office of the Major of the Pallace, who (commonly) so much entrenched and encroached on the Priviledges belonging to Royalty. Now in the creation of this Order of a Constable of France, I intend nothing else but an Office of Conveniencie; which may prove of great use to the Prince and to the Kingdom: and if the Major of the Pallace had lived under Princes, who had been able to rule according to the high priviledges of Soveraignty, that Office might (to this day) have been more tolerable; but the Princes infirmities having given way to them to grow insolent, and too much to usurp on Majesty, their discharge and a constitution of a new Order of Constable is more proper and agreeable; which place is not inalterable, his Beeing depending on his Yet it is found Policie rather not to elevate to high places, Princes pleasure. then after a Commission sealed for trust and honour, to disgrace and remove. Wherefore the Prince is not to choose his prime Minister of State in a tumult of passion, or according to the common delusions of popular vogues and suffrages: but after a serious consultation with his own Reason, having first glanced at the commendations and advice of his best and ablest Councellors. It is true, those who by eminency of their birth are born near to the Throne, being of Royal alliance and bloud, having their education proportioned accordingly to render them more illustrious and capable, may expect before others (who are not their Peers, neither in worth or birth) the honour of this high priviledge: but if their vertues be answerable to their birth, equity is bound to plead for their dignities and merits. Such a condition is more preferrable, because their persons and estates are so nearly twisted in the interest of the Crown, that they must necessarily flourish with it, or else fall, and so be buried under the same misfortunate and fatal Ruines. And (to confess truth impartially) it were a kind of injury, where birth and worth meet, that such persons should not be graced with the greatest Trust, the chiefest Honour, and highest qualities; nay, to exclude such illustrious Capacities, were not only a discouragement to their Noble Persons, but to Vertue and Majesty it self, which requireth the service and attendance of the greatest magnificence. Yet this great concernment ought to be of such importance and care that the Prince take notice, how it is more absolutely necessary that the person honour more his place and office with his vertues and abilities, then his place honour him. Therefore an impartial judicious choice is most chiefly to be used; and if those of more noble birth and extraction (degenerating from the vertues of their Ancestors, and utterly void of their great abilities) are incapable, and merit not so near a relation to Soveraignty: the Prince may make his choice where a more vertuous ability and a more noble capacity primely appeareth amongst others of his Subjects. For as the King hath his priviledge to choose at his pleasure amongst so many thousands of his people; Xx

fo each one of them, who is ingenious and vertuous is capable of his Prin. ces Election and favour. Now as for the persons whom the Prince advanceth to so high imployment, they are as Rivers whose Channels are deep and profound, whose Banks are distanced and large, to that end that the fierce Torrents, falling and streaming down, they may not cause an inundation, and so a destruction and sterility; but gently watering the fields, may cause them to be more fruitful and luxuriant: for it is most commodious if great Rivers swell and make their banks and borders full, all the excess in the Current is to fructifie the Country where the stream runs. then (at last) to empty it self with greater fulness into the vast and mighty Ocean. Thus the chief Minister is like a pleasant stream to enrich the State. and in the end, to flow more abundantly with advantages and prosperous returns to Majesty. Yet if it so fall out that the Prince be so unfortunate in his choice, that he whom he imployeth be not of a fit capacity, he may justly fear those disasters in Government, which are ordinary in the course of Nature; and that confusion in the State; which an inundation causeth in the Country when the Banks are broken down; where, if the breaches cannot speedily be repaired, an inevitable danger may succeed to the whole Kingdom. On the contrary, if the chief Councellour be fortunate in his conduct of affairs, and that this imployment falleth into the hands of an Heroick and Noble foul; a person in whom prudence and all the vertues eminently appear, and who hath gained the true Maxims of Policie by a long experience, and whose ambition is inflamed entirely for his Masters fervice and the peoples welfare; in such a condition the Prince may be confident of his own and of his peoples fafety. Then heaping honours upon his Creature, he may daily communicate to him greater power. In effect, if celestial providence had not removed from the Throne the latter Kings; who were legitimate in their birth; but unworthy to descend from Charles main by their ignoble qualities, I might yet have been there subject: and what authority soever, and charge, to be Major of the Pallace, and to be Count of Paris, Prince of France, together with the merits of Hugh Le Grand my Father gave me, I should never have adventured to ascend the Throne if the right heir to the crown had not descended thence, and if Charls of Lorain had not by his actions renounced that right to which he might have pretended. All these Circumstances accompanied with the universal suffrages of the people and puissant Soveraignty united, hath invited me to accept what I could not honourably refuse and refist. Let not Princes fear then to impart and communicate their Authority, but when it is evident, and they apprehend it may tend to their dishonour and disadvantage. Princes are subject to errour as well as other men, and therefore not without their fears and jealousies. Now it is impossible but that a Prince conferring his trust into the hands of such eminent persons; their cheifest business will be to respect their Masters, to observe their Laws, and to reduce or continue their people to their obedience. Now as Kings are the Images of God, so the chief Ministers of State are the Images of their Princes; we must not think then that the honour bestowed on them is a derogation or diminution of their Soveraignty. No, rather the more highly the chief Councellour is dignified, the more the Prince himself is honoured. Antiquity reverenceth the Oracles, and those who were injurious to them affronted the Gods; so the same veneration and respect ought the Subjects attribute to him, who is so highly trusted as well for their own as their Princes service. These mutual respects are the Nerves of the State wherewith the

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the Prince moveth the whole body of the Kingdom with greater facilitie. And as the General of an Army disperseth his Orders and discovereth his defign to a faithful Officer, (felected from the reft) for a more prosperous march and conduct to the Army: fo doth a Prince intimate his directions (perhaps) but by a Whisper) to his Minister, whereby he moveth all the parts of the Kingdom in a course clean contrary to common and general expediations. Therefore such an Officer is necessary, that the Prince may not only be pased and disburthened of to great a charge, and thereby be able to refresh and solace himself, but likewise Policie teacheth him to prepare a shelter betwixt him and the ontragious tempests of the peoples envie and reproaches, who act in that fort, that if the Prince be indulgent to any one person, they become an eternal enemy to such near approaches to Royalty; and the Minister of State receiving the beams of Authority from his Prince, ought to be like the Moon, thought less luminous yet ever splendent in one degree or other; and though by his motions he casually eclipse the splendor of the Sun, as to the eie of the people, yet as towards his Prince he is still to reflect with honour, and his orb is speedily to move to a more luminous satisfaction of the World: And when it so happeneth that a King enjoyeth fuch an extraordinary person, who knoweth as equally to obey his Prince, as to command his people: the loss of ten Battails ought to be less considerable then of one so eminent and so incomparable a creature. This Office of the Constable I have constituted as an aid and succour to my self; and that of the Marshals of France, as Assistants to the Constable. And if Princes be so injudicious and resolute, as in so great a Kingdom not to admit a Minister of State, but wraftle alone with those vast imployments, they will find those different affairs which follow the Soveraignty, as the shaddow doth the body, will infinitely oppress the Princes foul; who if he mind his own honour and the peoples repose, a defatigation and dispiritedness will accompany that oppression; and that will produce vexation and melancholy, which is provoked ordinarily into choller; and that commonly prepares high acts of injustice: therefore to keep up the vigour of the Prince in an equal proportion, the prudence and fidelity of a chief Minister of State is incomparably necessary. Soveraign Princes are like the Captains and chief Commanders in the Gallies, where the service of the Pilot is of the cheifest importance to guide the course; it is his office to foresee the tempests, to discover the winds, to avoid the shelves and rocks; and they rarely or never govern the Helm, but when the Pilot is disobedient, or a necessity forceth: they (at pleasure) observe the Carte, though neither furle the Sails, handle the Ropes, nor tug at an Oar : it is enough for the Captains to give their orders, to referve themselves for their more noble functions, which are to fight and vanquish the enemies : yet in necessity the Captain ought to be capable to exercise any place in all the Vessel; either of a skilful Pilot, or a private Sea-man. Thus as an exact Pilot, the chief Minister of State is to be prudent and active, either in the quiet and calms, or storms and tempests, when they arise in the State. If God would have Kings made so perfect and absolute as that they should need no affistance or Councellor, then they had been more by their birth then men; they might have penetrated their Subjects hearts, and been incapable of being deceived: but seeing it hath pleased the Divine Power to make them equal in their infirmities to the meanest of their Subjects, they have great reason to fortifie their disabilities by addition of the most rational helps and affiftances: now as some objects, so the affairs of Kingdoms may

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may be better feen by a multiplyed Light. I know well that History (which passeth for the best and most impartial Describer of the Universe) teacheth Kings something; that more obscurely and impersectly in comparison of effective experience. I may add also that Customs, Manners, and Kingdoms, change as well as times. The Masedonians are not now those noble persons, who fought under Philip and Alexander the Great; the Romans of our age are grown more fort and delicate, and are not fuch who lived under Romulus and Numa Pompillius; the French themselves, though hot and fiery, have left that hard thip and fierceness which they had under the reign of Pharamond and Meroije, under Clodion and Clovis, their courage was then formidable to all Nations. Princes born in the Purple Chamber of Royalty, usually travail into other Countries by their Maps and Charts; and seldom march into other Territories, but with puissant Armies to enlarge their Conquests and Dominions. It is then most advantagious to a Prince to have a confidence in some eminent person who may fatisfie his curiofity with truth, and can experimentally describe by his travails, the Kingdoms and Countreys of his Enemics, it being almost impossible to make his advantages without the advice of those who have feen those places with their own eyes. And whereas Princes by reason of their superabundant affairs cannot be so contemplative, nor so much converse with Books; and that Prudence is much gained with travail and conversation with strangers: a learned Councellour of Estate may in his discourse be used as a walking Library. Besides, Splendor, Pomp, and Pleasure, deprive a King of a great part of his life; so that it may be said in some kind, 'Tis necessary for a Prince to have some others to live for him; to advise him on all occasions, and to instruct him in those things which his interrupted condition permits him not to understand. And who think you is so fit to report to his Prince those bold truths and free expressions. which it is necessary he should understand, but he to whom he hath given Commission, and in whom he hath placed his considence. There are many angry truths, which Kings ought to know, and yet are not to be related to them, but seasonably, and by a skilful and learned faithful Councellour; who having first digested the dangers, may direct his Master to avoid the extremities. For the same relations reported from an ignorant or an injudicious mouth may occasion great distempers, and many evils: so that a faithful Minister compleatly qualified with all vertues, is the chiefest guard to the person of his Prince. When I look on the Court, I fee it full of flatterrers and male contents; some endeavouring to raise diffentions, others labouring to corrupt with Sycophancie and adulation: therefore in confideration of those two different dangers and inconveniencies; addreffes are rather to be applyed first to the chief Minister, then to the Princes who as he is a guard, so he is a buckler and spye to all intentions that may furprize the King; and these obligations indear his fidelity to his Master together with his own fortune, his life, and honour. Now as touching my self, these Reasons have been my Directors, and I desire my Successors may practice that which I have given them in example. The Laws shall be my guide and rules, and the Constable and Marshals of France, on whom I have conferred the Military affairs, shall force and command them to an observation. It is by them whereby I shall support my Throne, whereunto I am ascended; and it is by this discourse which I have made, whereby I shall prevent my Successors from an evil explication of my resolutions; and that they may believe that my suppression of the Major of the Pallace,

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was to make them more absolute in the Regal Office, I wish my Successors may reign with sull Authority, but I defire also that they debar not themselves from the prudence of a faithful Councellor. I would not have them slaves to their chief Minister, and yet I advise them to submit to Experience and Reason; and having found sage, moderate, faithful, and vertuous servants, that they love them, recompence, and protect them, and that they measure their friendshid, savours, and bounty, with their vertue, excellency, and perfection of their services.

worthy to fland before tings, and to approve his no thin for legion trusto a shiffed Piles VI V CENSON THE WAR. It is easy to the best proved by the second of the second

the bounds of awful obedience to his Prince KINGS are Gods, So saith the Saripture; but they are such Gods, of whom Homer and Ovid Speaks, who are subject to anger, fear, hatred, love, and all humane Passions, As happy as Kingdoms and Princes may be, they are content to observe the Latine Proverb, which teacheth them, that two eyes fee more then one; and therefore commit not their affairs absolutely to the dictases of their own will, matters of meight: Regal and high affairs require counsell and assistance; which if Kings refuse and fourn their condition grows desperate and dangerous. All Wildom cometh from above, faith Ecclefiasticus, and 'sis for shieresfon why Kings ought nos to be asbamed of their consultations, meeting with so many difficulties. The nobleness of birth renders Kings illustrious and morshy of great escem, and most sublime admira. tion: and it is true, Where the King is there is the Court, though it be but in a Cottage. But seeing they are men as well as Kings, Monarche were unreasonable if they refused Councel and advice: S. Paul tenabeth that Princes are to be obeyed though evil and wicked; yet he never taught, That Princes ought not to hearken to the wisdom of the aged, to those who have more experience then they. It is their duty to do right to the Meanest as well as to the Mightiest. This is an instruction given to all the Grand Masters of the earth. And how shall Princes obey the Commandments of heaven if they be ignorant of what is right, and will not hear their Councels who can advise them? Plato faith in the second Book of his Republique, That it is a high injustice to appear Righteous, and not really to be so. He addeth farther, He is equally injust who taketh Councel from none but himself; as Lewis the Eleventh of France, who wedded himself resolutely to his own opinion. 'Alexander the Great, who was so noble in his resolutions, that in the Olimpyan Games he would contest and exercise with none but Kings, yet he refused not to consult with Aristotle, who was no King, but a sage Philosopher. The sublimity of his condition did not make him scorn or disdain the wisdom of his Councel. Solomon faith, In the multitude of Councellors confisteth safety. And that which he taught he practifed; first choosing able and faithful Councellours, and then depending on their fidelity. Wildom establisheth a firm foundation (saith the infallible Oracle) and to have such an assurance, faithful Councel. lours are to be embraced. And though the danger may be great, when a Councellor proves unable or unfaithful; yet it is greater prudence to adventure such a danger, then to walk headlong in a certain fath of ruine and destruction. It is true, Princes unfortunately, sometimes meet with such false and persidious Councellours as Scianus; but there are to be found likewise upright and judicious Mordeca's, Agrippa's, Mæcenas's, and Bellifarius, that is, such incom-

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parable Worthies, who having no finale and private Interest, regard nothing above their Mafters glory and his Kingdoms good. Such men as thefe are fit to fit at the Councel Tables with Kings; of whom it may be candidly faid, as the Oracle did of Lyenrgus, (though by the mouth of a Sorverer) that such as he were beloved of the Gods, and were rather (indeed) Gods then Ment and as for Princes, their ruine is never more certain and near, then when they despise wholsome Councel Therefore the Wife man faid, Rebuke the wife and he will give thee thanks Non as the Prince is to hearken to his faithful Minister; so is he to premeditate and guard his lips, that they utter no perverse or indifferent thing before the Prince ; but by wildom to thew himfelf worthy to stand before Kings, and to approve his worth in so high a trust; and so a skilful Pilot in so dangerous a Navigation and Voyage. It is requifite his Theorie be great but that his Practice exceed that. He is to keep himfelf within the bounds of awful obedience to his Prince, to understand that the Supreme power of Kings is not limited, their anger is as the roating of a Lind. and their Soveraignty is as the heart of man, where every wound is mortal It is with Soveraignty as with the Ark of the Covenant, which none ought to prefume to touch, though it were to support it. Having now feen the reasons of Hugh Caper and his election of a Confiable of France, let us travail more Northerly, and look on a famous Hero, that formidable Conqueror, whom we may file as that Turkish Emperour Gulderum, that is, the Lightning from Heaven; who when he had paffed over the Baltick Sea, and fet his feet in Germany being in the head of his Army , he commonly exposed himself to the dangers of a private Souldier, not confidering his quality of being a King, but (when he had occasion) to them his Royal Grace and Mercy to his humbled and vanquished Enemies. And therefore his sage and faithful Chancellour presamed to take the liber of to reprehend his Majestie. See here follow the reasons of this Lion-like couragions Prince, to authorize and justific his Gallantry and hard-(hip in what he woully attempted.

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resolut Realines. I hope you will with rationally, that Valents is a quality as effective as a King, as wither if the Core tell resolutes more advantagious and ferva cable to the People, then so the Prince, who chefty La Aba Du Ro Der Sul; Hans for other Con

CHANCELLC OXERSTERN.



F the Councels which you have given me for a fafer guard to my felf, had not been as dangerous, as my enemies to my renown and honour; I could have so much valued your wildom and fidelity, as to have hearkened to your Policie and Advice; but my honour was more precious to me then the confideration of my Estate and life, and more nearly toucheth my heart. Wherefore I think it fit to fatisfie your curiofity (in matters fo highly important:) I presume the

valor of Kings is not a quality to be confined or lockt up within the narrow bounds of any limits; much less within the prescriptions which your Policy perswadeth. It is absolutely defended (as an infallible rule) that Kings (if they intend a victory or Conquest) are to appear in the front and head of the Battail. You well know it is most difficult in all the Course of Nature. to establish one certain and infastible rule. The same circumstances are not commonly used to the same events, but distinct and different means often compass the same ends. One Ship may come fafely to the Harbour by the Tide, and another as prosperously (though against the Tide) by a good gale of wind. As all Kings are not alike, neither in their persons, not Kingdoms; so their interests leave them to the choice and exercises of feveral actions and undertakings. There are many Circumstances most materially confiderable in them, as their age, their humour, their inclination. And it is to be observed that the people are of one temper, and the Souldiers of another; those love to loiter and shelter themselves in Plenty and Peace: these delight to hear the found of Trumpet and Drums, and are more ambitious of honour then of riches. To these observations a particular regard must be used to the affairs of War, to the nature of the Enemie, and to the defigns of Conquest and Victory. And according to the

variety of those objects in these several circumstances; the life of man (in order to those ends he aims at) is to be more or less valued. To this purpose a King is to consider, whether it may not be as necessary (on some occasions) to appear (as well) a valiant and stout Souldier, as a great Com. mander and General. But not to stay you any longer from the more sub. stantial Reasons, I hope you will yeild rationally, that Valour is a quality as effential to a King, as either Justice or Prudence; and that (in some degrees) it is more advantagious and serviceable to the People, then to the Prince, who chiefly gains honour and renown; but as for other Conveniences, they are as equally communicable to the Subjects (who freely share in them) as to the Soveraign. It is true, Policy and Prudence may effect Victories with less danger, and without effusion of blond; and those Conquests may be both glorious and commodious : yet I shall speak freely and without fear, although Justice and Prudence are chief preservers of a State in peace, yet the Vallour and fortitude of the Prince is as equally confiderable; and contributeth not the least share of advantage to the prosperity of a Kingdom. Nay, more valour chiefly giveth the life, success, and fortune, and with magnanimity and courage the noblest minds do ever keep company, 'tis this vertue which maketh the greatest spirits and Worthies most remarkable; she (above all others) advanceth Kings and Princes. It is by her renown that Kingdoms and Empires are conftituted and formed; and whereby Conquerours and Ilustrious Heroes are reputed worthy to merit Crowns and Diadems: for if we examine the wayes and motions of these latter ages; we shall find that men who no ver were disciplined in the Rules of Morality and Policy, out of an instinct and direction from Nature, judged none worthy to command, but those whom they conceived most daring and valiant. So true it is, that valent is a quality most effential to Royalty, and consequently those who are not endowed with this great vestue, are utterly unworthy and incapable of Crowns and Scepters. If Kings were only obliged to betheir Subjects Lords and Masters, Prudence and Justice might be solely requisite to such relations of Government; but their royal office obligeth them farther to adventure for their defence, not only by their Commands, but in their Perfons. And it is through this noble quality that they gain the glorious titles of victorious Conquerors, and to be stilled the Protectors and Liberators of the People. It was in favour to this more eminent vertue, that the ancient Romans (who were fuch equal dispensators of Glory) conferred honours, and gave triumphs to those, who by their illustrious Atchievements had merited such high renown. But you will tell me, all men confess valour to be a great ornament and Princely requisite in a Soveraign: but it is rendred less useful if not limited with moderation and guided with discreet restraints. To answer, I shall not peremptorily make a contradiction; yet I shall boldly affirm, that all the vertues when idle and less active, either cease to be vertues, or (at least) appear not so to be. What where Clemency if the never fnatched a facrifice from the Altar of Justice : and what were Justice if the remitted all her victims to Clemency? There is then a kind of necessity which generally obligeth them to a Confistency in action; and each particular is to act according to its Nature; and to ma. nifest it self to the people, as that vertue which is most eminent in the Prince. and chiefly seated in his natural inclinations. Now if the Prince discerneth that his Subjects do more honor him, his Souldiers grow daily more valiant, and his Enemies more fear him; it cannot but be necessary, that he make proofs of E

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his courage to encrease the Subjects loyalty and the Souldiers valour, that the Enemies may be possessed with more terrour and sear, and the Estate be established in a greater security. Besides, where nature bath imprinted this noble hear and ardour of spirit, it is proper to augment and enflame this naural spark, by an exercise and frequency of noble actions; and he who passeth his dayes without peril, is too rash on wain. gloriana, if he brag much of his courage. It is not enough for a Prince to hear the noise of the Cannons, and to fee the smoak and Bathes of fire from the Ramparts and Battalians: but valour leadesh a gallane spirit within the mide of the flaming clouds, and mingleth him boldly with the enemies troops; where he can look on death without fear, and feeks glory when he scorns the world: and so walking betwirt the living and the dead, gathers Lawrels and Trophics with his own hands, which he hath besprinkled with the sweat and bloud of his irreconcileable Enemies. If this noble boldness were not admitted to a Prince, his own Army might as well doubt as the Enemies themselves of the Princes valour; and the Souldiers and Officers might justly challenge to themselves the victory which crowneth Kings. This high quality is not only necessary for a Prince in the Theorie and Speculation, but likewife in the Pratice: some other vertues are commendable, but this not only to, but effential in a Prince. Justice and Prudence may be inspired by the advice of faithful Councellours, but valour must lodge in the Princes beart, which giveth life and motion (as the most noble part) to all the other Members. And how can a Prince who feeleth not in himself the height of vigour and courage manage his affairs in either Peace or Wars? First if he live in the softness of Plenty, and a peaceful Estate, how apt will fuch a Prince be to be opposed and 'affronted by the injustice and insolency of his own Subjects thow will his neighbour Princes and Estates domineer and encroach on his Royal Rights and Priviledges ? and it he fall into the tempest and broils of a Civil War, or an invasion from foreign Enemies : how will he be able to preserve his own honour, or his subjects Rights and Liberties? and what noble spirit will freely adventure his life in his fervice, who dare not as freely hazard his own? Or how can be be capable of Generous Councel, who hath not courage nor valour to put it in execution? and how dare that person think himself worthy of the Title of King, who hath not a heart to fight (if fortune should oblige him) in a fingle Duel with his equal) for the honour and preservation of his Crowns By this time (I think) I may impartially conclude, that valour is the mast Princely and most Royal ornament, and both the precedency (on the Throne) above all other vertues; which without this could not render any person fit to wear a glorious Crown. In all great Battails the alone hath made the Conquerors most illustrious and fortunate. You cannot then (noble Chancellor) but acknowledge that as this vertue is necessary and glorious for the Prince: so it is of chiefest advantage for the Peoples good and universal happiness. Now this foundation laid, let us see how this quality is to be used; and whether to be unactive and out of all imployment; So proposing to forget no circumstance that may justifie our courage in thele actions, which I have or shall undertake in exposing my life to the most eminent perils of War. It is most certain, that if it ought (at any time) to thine more eminently in a Prince, is should be at the Commenceme t of his life, of his reign, and of his conquelts: this is the chiefest instance, when a Prince makes the luftre of his Crown to thine, and when he imprinteth the marks of honour in the hearts of his friends and enemies; his

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courage amazing the one, and animating the others: Wheever hath a hand valiant enough to serve gloriously with his Sword, need not fear or doubt but that he may fray the Grandure of a Scepter; and to this purpose (on all occafions) a Noble Prince is obliged to give folemn testimonies of his valour. As for all other vertues, they cannot appear so eminently in him: Justice and Clemency may flow from his invisible orders; but valour is immediately transcient from his person. Experience maketh grand Politicians and great Captains, but they can never gain the reputation of valour without their own personal appearance. This is a way to honour, to which an illiterate and private Souldier may be admitted to climb. And how shall a Prince render himself commendable to his Subjects, or formidable to his Enemies; who is not furnished with this glorious quality? Kingly affairs admit not alwayes leafure to books, nor folitary hours of fludy and con-His office is ever to be active, and valour is a Native quality which encreaseth with exercise. This is a guift of nature, and falls from the hand of Heaven, and is imbodied in the life of man; fo confequently, being a natural inclination, instructeth that Prince so qualified, that he imploy the vertue thereof for the good of his Estate, and the glory of his Renown. If Nature had intended otherwise, Prudence or Justice might have bin a more early quality then Valour, but we fee the contrary, and the youngest Infants fooner learn to shew their courage, then to express the vigour of any other vertues. The order which is established in all the Universe is too just to be contradicted; and men can never do more judiciously then by following the rules of natural and primitive intentions. Agriculture (how fertile and fruitful foever it improves) expects not the flower before the bloffom, nor the fruit before the flower. The skilful Gardner endeavours to haften the maturity of his fruits; but not to change or disorder their Nature. Those who approach near the Thrones of Princes, ought not to presume to infuse the Rules of Prudence into their Princes ears, before they have given him firm affurances of their courage; Crowns though they are to be attended with Councellours, yet not with Cowards: and Princes make their best advantage, when (following the direction of Nature) their Valour is first discerned and most illustrious in them. The suspicion of not being couragious, may difanimate the stoutest Subjects, and encourage the basest and lowest Enemies. And if Valour alone effecteth such noble enterprises, what will not the prudently Couragious be able to atcheive? In effect, that noble report which dilateth it self at the Commencement of a Princes reign, is marvellous important to all the concernments of his life. As for renown, the will take more pleasure in proclaiming of his valour, then of his bounty; and flying round the world, will more divulge and blazon his honour, and the effects of his courage, then those of his Prudence and Justice. History will charge her felf voluntarily with the memory of his Victories which he hath gained over his Enemies, and make them to shadow his errors (if any) and the infirmities of his paffion. The rest of his vertues clad in a more silent robe, or lapt up in private Panegyricks will shine as they are shadowed from the Pencils of private persons. But as for all the circumstances of his valour, they shall swell in Volums of universal History. His other qualities may be contented to be confined to the borders of his own Dominions and Countries: but his valour will constantly travail over all the Universe. His friends and his enemies will both talk; these out of love, those out of fear; both will speak his honor, and so immortalize the glory of a valiant Prince: so that no person shall be able to detract or derogate from his renown. In the Conduct

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of War, much is (ofttimes) attributed to the experience of the General, or to the Result of Councell: but no dimunition can rob a valiant spirit of his honor. Aristotle added something to the Glory of Alexander, by the intufion of sweetness and moderation, as Plutarch did in that kind, in that of Trajan; but neither the one nor the other inspired their valour and generofity. All the Tracts which were ever written, cannot present the guifts of fortitude. Heaven and Nature concur in the plantation of that quality in the hearts of men. The Battail of D' Iffus, and that of Arbella, were fo much Alexanders; and that of Daces so much Trajans, that the Combats and the Victories were their own entirely: where no person durst presume to claim a share or part in those honorable enterprises. It was (without doubt) that the Illustrions Macedonian (on this fole occasion) would not admit that Ephe-Hian should be named with Alexander in that action; it being certain that Valour is the only Mistress, of which all noble Heroes are tender and jealous. Now if it be advantagious to a Prince to be valiant being young, it is much more rational to be couragious when he is first a King. As for my felf, If I had not rendred my reign more memorable by my first actions against the Polanders and the Muscovites, it might well have been that I should not have caused (at this present) the Empire, and all Germany to tremble: but on the contrary (perhaps) I might have feen all mine own Territories invaded, or my felf forced to a shameful exite, or confined to a base imprisonment. It is certain that the most important actions of a King (in all his life lare those when he first mounteth towards his Throne: & then when he declares a War against a formidable and puissant Enemy. And yet not to leave the interest of that noble Subject (of which we speak) when conjunctures grow dangerous, and innovations threaten a change of Goverment; the Prince is then to be most vigorous, and to fortifie his designs with his courage. In the suspicion of great revolutions, terror and fear are excellent means to keep the world close to their duty; and on the contrary, timidity, flow and dull confultations do but prepare and promote Revolts, and encourage factions & feditions. For though valor do not always act with her fword in her hand; yet she hath a constant influence and continued operation over all the people. She enters into the Councels as wel as Prudence, and though Prudence give advice, it is valor that receiveth and afterh the bold and hardy resolutions; and she is the chiefest cause that inclineth Princes to clemency. If Ful. Cafar had not bin truly valiant, he could not have pardoned his greatest enemies. As for Fear it suffers not those to live whom true Valour scorns, great and terrible Murders had followed in the battails of Pharfalia. If that great Emperor had not scorn'd death, he would have caused slain the greatest number of the Romans. Augustus forbore his proscriptions and Massacres on the Triumvirats only on this ground, being certain that his valor & courage did forranscend, that it could cause his inclinations to mercy. It was this that preserved Cinna from perishing, when his conspiracies had trained him to fuch perils, and Livia fo much folicited against him for his ruine. All no. ble Heroes have done nothing worthy, their memory wherein their valour hath not bin most prevalent in their perswalions & resolutions As for Conards they dare not refolu whether to punish or pardon, but in a suspence; fearing the complices or the conspirators, they less incline to pardon:& cruelty being their natural inclination, their fears increase only, and they desire to ruine all; provided that that desolation might render security and repose to themselvs. This Passion doth worse becom Kings, whom if the Subjects once discern to be timerous, they speedily grow insolent & probably cause their Scepter to fal out of their trembling hands. But on the contrary a Prince thould rather endeavour

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endeavour not only to be terrible in the apprehension of his own Subjects, but he is to make his courage to appear formidable to all the earth, especially then when he fits upon a Throne. At that time this glorious quality imprinteth his respect with his Grandees and Nobles, and disperseth an awful submission in the hearts of his people; and thus his courage commanding both the one and the other, Peace and publique Tranquility proveth the refult and confequence. Will a Prince pardon a great and eminent person, let him do it franckly without any regard to the suspition of his Train or Party, and look on him as an object of his mercy not of his fear. And when he refolves to punish a potent and eminent offender, let him effect it with equal courage, and let his valour furmount all opposition and repugnancie : let him as little fear death by the hand of an affaffinate, as from the Army of an Enemy. He hash true repose of spirit who preserveth his reason entire, and neither lyes down nor riseth up in fear: For Valour makes him vigilant and suspicious, not base and timerous. In this condition, whether he hath Peace or War, his Valour will make him worthy to be a King, and to be attended with honour. There is a time when young and tender age tolerates a Prince if he be not prudent and politique (that vertue is not gained but with riper years, and some experience :) but it is a great imperfection (if not a vice) for a Prince even from his Cradle, not to manifest the feeds of valour. It must be then confessed clearly, that no occasion must be omitted that may manifest the beauty of this incomparable vertue, which is so precious at all seasons. And if a Prince may be permitted at any time to take off the edge, and fo suspend the splendour of his courage; it is principally then, when he hath atchieved his conquests; then, when he reapeth the full harvest of his victories; but in his attempts he is to be as hardy and terrible as a Lion, that by a fortunate beginning he may make his paffage case and facile to his greatest future enterprises, and so to be rendred formidable and victorious: it is not only necessary to fight by Commission, but in person, as well to encourage their own Armies, as terrifie and amaze the Enemies. By fuch a Gallant deportment the Reputation of a Prince wil march far before the Prince himself, and proclaim farther the glo. ry of fuch a General, then the found of Drums or Trumpets. His luftre will be feen farther then his Enfigns and Banners; and so the very terrour of his great and noble Name will batter the Walls, and open the gates of the strongest Forts and greatest Towns. As for those quiet and sleepy Princes, who have no other thoughts, but for their own defence; and no other ambition but to guard their own Dominions from the Invasion of their Enc. mies; a leffer proportion of this noble quality may ferve such thrifty perfons : yet this high vertue, if planted in brefts of Soveraign Power, ought not to be confined to fuch narrow bounds; for if there be no occasion to enlarge their Domination, there cannot be wanting some excellent and honourable motive to exercise their courage in relieving of some Noble Princes enduring an oppression or usurpation. But as for such who after the example of Alexander the Great, mind Heroick and Noble enterprifes, they think it glorious to quit their own Countries, preferring danger before a Bed of Down, and the glory of the Camp before the delicacies of the Court: they can feat Majesty as high in strange Countries as well as in their own; and create and elevate a Throne with a few clods and earthie turfs, and make that as terrible as covered all over with gold. Such noble and magnanimous spirits adventure to seek Death abroad, and resolve either to gain glory and an Empire, or to fcorn Danger and trample Death under

under foot. Such invincible minds as these, are more active and couragious, they shake off dull and drowsie humours, kis their Sword as their Mistress, look on Fame as their Herauld and servant, and expect honour as their reward. These Martial Heroes abandoning fear will adventure their own persons (which are above and far more precious then all things else) to gain what they aime at, and those who will be superabundantly and tediously wise, are seldome more fortunate or more illustrious then what their birth and their Fathers valour hath made them. Besides these Arguments, if I shall consider the three ages of Man, his youth, his manhood, and his old age; the season wherein I have chiefly exercised courage is most suitable and proper, which is equally distanced from the infirmities of the one, and the debilities of the other. strength of body accompanied the vigor of the mind, at which conjuncture it were a thing more irrational, and a kind of an affront and abuse to Nature, not to be then more sprightful and active; and consequently more ambitious of an immortal and a glorious name. If Experience be so perfect a guide in great and famous enterprises, ought I not then to do now as I have already, so often having so well succeeded? you know how that when I was but seventeen years of age; I was constrained (on the same day) to take my Scepter with one hand, and my Sword in the other, and so forced to defend my Crown: how I was (at those years) invaded by the Danes, Polanders, and Muscovites; and while these Wars continued I found it most agreeable with my honor as well as with my affairs to be with the first in the field, and with the last at the retreat. Ibelieve you cannot forget those eminent effects which I accomplished in all these several Countries, and with what precipitation and honourable danger I have been (ofttimes seen) to pass the Frontiers of Denmark, to those of Muscovie, and from those of Muscovie to those of Polony: and if I had on those occasions so much need, I have (at present) equal invitation to the greatest activity of my personal valour. For as the design is more high and noble, so ought all circumstances which aim at it. Besides some permission is due to my natural inclinations, that I may regulate my conduct according (to my prevision and forefight) with better successes. And if I should continue with the main body of my Army I might (probably) not onely endanger and hazard my felf, but all. No, it is more proper that I go my felf and view the countenance and fquadrons of my Enemies, if I intend to vanquish them. I shall thereby put more life and resolution into my own Souldiers; and when they fight I shall the more ably discern how to take a more perfect advantage on the Enemies forces, or feebleness, with whom I am to combat. And as I have considered what is most necessary in Order to mine own interest, so I am to discern the inclinations of the People and Souldiers who follow me. All Climats produce not the fame tempers, and my Souldiers being of a more Northerly birth and education, expect a more vigorous and active example for their conduct. Not but that they are valiant, stout, and hardy; yet withal, they like the adventures better, when their Commanders are in the Vanguard, and the General in the Front of the Battail: and it were great shame and imprudence, not to be forward where one noble Example may so elevate their courage and resolution.

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The coldness of the Climate hath some communication with their Nature, which being warmed and throughly enflamed by their Princes valour, the Souldiers fcorn Death and Danger, and grow as ambitious of vanquishing the Enemies, as the Prince himself; and if their courage be not somewhat quickned and advanced by some eminent and notable action of their Prince, it may fall out that they may fail in their duty; and the Prince may (possibly) lose his honour, with his life, and all that is dear unto him. To these reasons I may farther add, that Prince who finds himself not at the head of an Army, confishent of an hundred thousand men, but onely commands a leffer number of Troops and Regiments, in case his Souldiers march flowly, and advance fearfully; fuch a Prince ought to be able roundly to tell his timorous and daunted Souldiers, that his Royal Perfon is as confiderable as the vast numbers of the Enemies forces; otherwise he had done more discreetly not to have commenced a War, but rather lived securely in peace. And it is also as true when a Prince taketh a view of his Army, and examineth his Magazines of Ammunition, he ought at the same time to consult with his owne heart, and not so much depend on the numbers of his Souldiers, or the strength and terrour of his Engines, as on his owne courage and magnanimity. Moreover, if we confider well who our Enemics are, we shall finde they are the very same, who fought so stoutly, and caused so many Roman Legions to perish and fall. they are the very same People with whose force and power Grand Arminius (that noble Captain) did so many things. Most, or all other Nations are clean changed from those Martial and Warlike humours, wherewith they were so illustrious for their hostility. Rome is not now what it was in Julius Cafars reigne, but is grown more effeminate and delicate. Or if it still continue glorious, it is more for the Arts and Sciences which flourish best in Peace, then for the exercise of War; and more honoureth (at present) the Rules of Mercury, then of Mars. The noble Macedonians are grown dispirited and servile flaves, and the Empire of Greece, is not what it was under the reign of Philip and Alexander the Great, but they lead the lives of humble Vasfals, contented with servitude and besorted ignorance. But Germany is still the fame, the People as couragious and warlike as in the times of the Romans, as able and resolute for refistance, and to successful with their valour as never entirely subdued and conquered by that mighty Empire. That very place where Varris loft his life as well as the Battail, continues still peopled with as many flout and brave mindes as it was, when it opposed all the Roman Forces. There is onely this difference, that our Arms and undertakings are more justifiable then theirs; and therefore if we intend to vanquish them we must take the same course which they used who conquered the World, committing our felves and fortunes voluntarily to Providence and couragiously exposing our selves (without all fear) with hopes to attain that glorious end, at which our valour aimeth. It is for the liberties of all Germany, that we have taken up our Arms, it is for the repose and fasery of our Friends and Allies, it is for a just revenge upon our Enemies, and true glory and renown, that we defire victory; and confequently, such great Atchievements

must be attended with all diligent and noble Circumstances that may procure and facilitate our Conquests. To this purpose tif there be occasion) I must not refuse to be General of the Army, Martial of the field, Major General, an ordinary Captain, Engineer, Canoneer, or a private Souldier, as well as a King; and thus according to the diversions of my affairs, I am to proceed and act as an experienc'd and forward Prince, who know my owne bufiness as well or better then any who fight or follow me. Those who conclude that a Prince is the life and foul of his Army are furely of my judgment. and resolve where the undertakings are so great and illustrious, the way cannot but be dangerous , and therefore requires greater courage as well as policy. The foul (we know) of totain toto, as the Philofopher faith, and fo must the Prince be in every part of his Army? giving life and operation to every member ; fo cauting the feet to march, the hands to fight, the ears to hearken, the eyes to watch, and all parts to perform their feveral duties a have you not observed with what order and courage my Souldiers have followed me, when I have marched in the head of my army y specially then, when I lead them towards the very mouth of dangers And think you that if they lead me and I followed them, that they would have advanced with equal courage? No, no, I know that one stroke with my Sword strikes the Enemie as deep as a thousand of others of lower quality: And What doth not shame, example, emulation, hope of honour, expectation of Reward, and recompence from the hands of a King. What (I say) doth not such means effect and operate? This Intuition and care moveth effectually every particular person in the Army, and causeth each one to do his duty impartially; so that some may rudely interpret that temerity which proveth greatest prudence: but (perhaps) you may tell me; if the Enemy understand that I am daringly in the head of my Army, they will aim at none so much, as at my felf; and therefore multiply their volleys against me: to that I answer, It is no smal degree of honour to be such an object of terrour, and such a noble mark, which scorneth the enemies forces, though never so numerous. Besides, my Souldiers who see my valour, cannot but be so ambitious of my preservation, as to guard me with the wishes of their hearts, as well as defend me with the stoutness of their hands; and whatever shall succeed, the presence of majesty cannot but make them fight like Lions, when they see their Prince ingaged, and compassed about with equal danger; as for mine Enemies, such couragious On-fets would make them faint and fly, or gallantly force their Pikes and Swords to fall from their hands. Now as my presence will inspire courage into those of my Army, so it will dispoil and strip the Enemy of that noble quality, and so force them to submit to our invincible spirit and courage: where, if I should proceed less generously, I might probably rather give incouragement, then gain fo many conquests of mine Enemy. I know the way to honour is full of difficulties, but it is true, as rich mines lie deep and dangerous; beautiful Lyllies grow in the midst of Thornes; so is it with true Renown and Glory. I am not Ignorant, that death oft-times attends and arefts as familiarly the greatest Generals and Princes, as the meanest Souldiers; but such a death is most honourable,

and the Eccho thereof resoundeth to all the Corners of the Earth. As for mine owne resolution and hymour, I had rather lose the bat. tel, where I have the honour to fight my felf, then to gain a battel where I have not fought with mine owne hands. Cease then (noble Chancellor) to fet any farther limits, and to confine my courage with any bounds, leave me to the vigour and activity of this noble vertue, which so much animateth all the faculties of my soul. Our Troops are feeble, our Enemies strong, our designs great, the eyes of all the earth observe our Motion, and superintend our Actions; it becomes not us then, to be flow or short in any part of our dury; let us fight couragiously, let us fall upon our Enemies like a violent Torrent, with thunder and lightning; and not like a gentle River move flowly and timeroufly; our pretentions are not ordinary, erefore our actions must be generous: Let us march through all Germany, and manifest our courage through every part of it; and if it shall so arrive, that our valour be recompensed with a direful sad unfortunate conclusion, we doubt not, but that our death will be glorious, and our name immortal; and if we do not perfect our Conquests, the world cannot (in justice) but rank us in the number and order of the most illustrious Conquerours.

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Much weneration and honour is due to the memory of this great Prince, he is to be looked on as a most noble Hero, and invincible Worthy, as the marvel and wonder of his age: yet it is true, that Soveraign Princes having such eminent fortunes, and so many great affairs meerly attending their persons; it doth most infinitely concerne them, for the general good of their subjects and Souldiers, to be careful and preservative of themselves. That famous, but sad day wherein the King was flain, hath verified (but too cruelly) this truth, when this Prince lost his life, by the violence and Ardor of his owne opinion; when his valour marched so forwardly in the Van. Though fortune had oft-times presented him with successes and victories, yet she is not alwayes constant in her friendship. It is to be feared he was too much assured of the continuation of her favours, and it may be he depended too little on prudence, and too much on the Roman Proverb; which faid, that Destiny doth all; or on Predestination, which (as some say) orders and determines both means and ends, which is the Doctrine of the Calvinists and the Turks. Though it is rather true, that evety one is the Artist of his own fortune. Philosophy tels us as well as Poetry, that sapiens dominabitur aftris; a wife man is able to resist the influence of the Stars; which though they incline, yet do not force nor constrain the disposition. This King, though a most illustrious Prince for his valour, condescended very low, and appeared too excessively couragious in the office of a common Trooper: the head and the hand have two different functions; fortune is not always propitious, nor doth she make every Conquerour her darling, as she did Alexander: that which she did for him in the Town of Oxidragues, and on many re-encounters, are not examples to others to adventure on Alexanders dangers, or to hope for his successes; for her favours to him may rather be accounted Prodigies and Wonders, then common degrees of fortunes courtesses. Homer who was so judicious in his Epithites, and knew how properly to place them throughout his Illiads, commonly gives that of Sage or Prudent to Agamemnon; but that of Brave or Valiant to Achilles: to note the difference, which in the conduct of Armies, ought to be betwixt a royal Prince and a private person. It is true, that a bed of honour is as glorious and acceptable to a noble Prince, as a throne of Ivory or Gold, and to dye Tryumphantly and win the battel, is to live eternally in the memory of men. As for this Prince, if he did not (before he dyed) confine his valour to greater moderation, it was rather to be imputed his misfortune, then his errour; for having enjoyed so many glorious fruits of his dangers, his vi to. ries and his tryumphs; why might he not still have presumed on the same succefs? all the world did favour him with Apologies; nay, gave him the testimony of honour and commendations, when he fostoutly affaulted the Isle of Rugen, and at that great attempt gave so grand a reputation to his Armies, that he seemed to have effected impossibilities. Now if that course which was so fortunate in so many re-encounters, was not so successful at the fatal battail of Lutzen: let the whole Earth confess it was not great Gustavus want of conduct but of fortune: he had already conquered above Ten Provinces, and subdued Three hundred Towns: why might not this day have given him leave to survive his Enemies, and to have enjoyed the Triumphs of his victo. Bbb ries ?

ries? but in some kind it may be said of Wars, as tis of Playes: Old Gamesters think it not sit to bazard, and adventure all they have gained at one stake. But seeing things past can not be revoked; let us not farther trouble this immortal Hero, nor interrupt the repose of his Gloricus Sepulchre. The great worth of this unparalleld Prince is ont of the reach of envy, and (probably) of imitation. His name is too bright and glorious to be spotted with derogation, and tis sit for none to approach near his Ashes, but such who bedew their eyes with tears, and force an amazedness on their souls with sighs, for the loss of so great a Champion: whose Trophies are so illustricus, and magnificent, that who ever considers his great Atchievements, may not onely have an abundance of satisfaction for his curiosity, but be assonished with admiration.

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FIX 1S.

Tuesday 6. December, 1653.

At the Council of State at Whitehal.

ORDERED,

Hat Mr Thurloe be appointed by the Council, to assigne such persons as be shall think sit, to print the Book, entituled, CURIA POLITIÆ; and that no other Person what soever do presume to print the same without leave first had from Mr. Thurloe, for the doing thereof.

FOHN THURLOE, Secr'

I Do appoint Humphrey Moseley to print this Book, and that none else do print the same.

fohn Thurloe.

13 December. 1653. Tin/II) in December, it is.

At the Council of States at Whitelia

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